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hereby appointed to receive collections and transmit them to the superintendents at the several missionary stations, within the bounds of the Synod."

Oct. 8. I have been informed quite lately that the wife of Pollard, one of our principal chiefs, has been much distressed under pungent convictions of her lost and ruined state by nature. I was a little the more surprised at this from the fact that till within a few months past, her attendance on the Sabbath has been quite irregular. I have therefore taken the first opportunity for a serious conversation with them both by going to their house with an interpreter. I expected to see [her] bowed down with grief and shame and in her own view ready to perish; but the Lord had verified his declaration in her case, to a very remarkable degree, "whosoever humbleth himself shall be exalted." She certainly appeared to speak as a soul would speak, who is new-born of God. She stated, that after the missionary had been stated here, she was for some time brought to a stand, in regard either to the propriety or benefits of the object. She at length, from various considerations, came to the conclusion that the object *must be* good. She then went to meeting and heard the word of God. She thought it must be true and she pronounced it good. Her heart, however, remained unmoved, until her nephew George Fox went to the Cornwall school. The object of his going there, and the way in which it was all brought about, all seemed to induce the belief that God was at the bottom of it. Still her hard heart remained in a great degree insensible, until George wrote them a letter, stating his safe arrival, that he was pleased with his prospects; that he had not yet met with the new birth as he supposed, but that he hoped in God's own time he should experience it. This last sentence seemed to impress her mind in a peculiar manner. She thought much what it could mean; but from what she knew of the Gospel she supposed it must mean that she must leave off sinning against God and live in a godly manner. It immediately occurred to her with great force, "if this be necessary for him it must be necessary for me, who am so much older and so much more accustomed to sin against that God who





has given me my being and has supported me all my life long, notwithstanding I have so often rebelled against him." To use her own expressions, "the thought brought her to the ground, and she had no rest until she found it in Jesus; and she knew he did comfort her heart, so that [her] eyes filled with tears of gratitude, whenever she reflects what a poor lost and ruined sinner she has been."

Her statement affected me much, and although it is our duty to judge cautiously, it is nevertheless impressed on my mind, that it is the hand of God.

Monday, Oct. 6. After the exercises of this interesting evening were over, we suggested to the chiefs present the propriety of their receiving Christian names; inasmuch as frequently in our communications to our friends we are under the necessity of calling them by terms which had been given by some persons no doubt with a view to nickname them, and which were disrespectful; and that if they chose to adopt the plan of receiving Christian names, I would furnish myself with a list and at some convenient opportunity would make an appropriation. The thing seemed to gratify them very much and they gave us their sincere thanks for this kindness and attention, and stated that they had always been sensible of the meanness of the manner in which they were commonly addressed by white people. They therefore concurred with me in opinion that a change of names would be highly advisable. They would choose first, however, to consult the rest of their chiefs, and return me an answer on Wednesday following.

Wednesday, Oct. 8. The chiefs according to promise stated after our conference this evening that they were unanimous in their adoption of Christian names, and again expressed their high approbation of this attention of their missionaries. This evening received an invitation to visit the Alleghanies this winter.

Oct. 10. For the first time since our location among this people Red Jacket has this day paid us a visit and given us the privilege of a short interview. He appears rather friendly than otherwise, but we are quite suspicious nevertheless that his heart is secretly at work in endeavors to



execute his dark designs of mischief and opposition. The occasion of this visit was to meet the chiefs of the Christian party, on business of the nation, in which they wished some assistance from me. After the business of the council was finished, I had a good opportunity, which I had long desired, of a private conversation with young Jameson, who officiated as interpreter on this occasion, in regard to some symptoms of indiscretion and unfriendliness towards the mission, which we thought we had discovered at several times since his return from school. He at once acknowledged my frankness and his belief in my good intentions, and was fully disposed to give an explanation of the circumstances, which I had thought it my duty to name to him for his consideration. The explanation was satisfactory, so far as to induce a belief that the unfavorable circumstances alluded to were the result rather of inconsideration than of any particular evil intention. He supposes (I think incorrectly) that some members of the family are not disposed to show him proper attention, and says his feelings have been considerably alienated in consequence of it. But more especially were his feelings injured in the treatment he received from the commissioners. "He had never," he said, intruded himself upon their notice; it was a matter which had entirely originated with the chiefs themselves; but after their minds had been made up in regard to their proposal of him as teacher, he felt it his duty to give his assent; but how were his feelings wounded when he found "that in the reply to the proposal, all the objection was that such a thing had never entered into the mind of the Missionary Society at New York, but that if hereafter any of their young men should distinguish themselves under their superintendence, they would have no objection." In what other way, pray, do they get their teachers but by the certificates which they produce? They never asked me for my certificate or enquired into the progress I had made, or asked where I had pursued studies."

In vindication of what I consider to be a correct procedure of the commissioners I stated, the objection was valid. First, because he was an entire stranger to them in every



sense of the word; they had no knowledge of his standing as a man or of his qualifications; and considering the shortness of time allowed them for their business, it was impossible for them to know anything definite in regard to his abilities. Second, that as far as they did know anything in regard to him they knew him not as a religious character, which of itself was a sufficient objection even had he possessed unequivocal evidence of other necessary qualifications. I stated further that it was not the object of the Society merely to have the children taught the principles of common learning; there was a higher and infinitely more important consideration in view; which was, to have them well instructed in the holy principles of the religion of Jesus Christ and of the Bible. How, therefore, could he suppose that they would be willing to trust such important concerns to the immediate instruction of one of whom fears were entertained whether he were not yet "in the gall of bitterness and bonds of iniquity." The argument seemed, I thought, to be well received by the young man, and led to the candid confession that if this were the more prominent design of the establishment he had been ignorant of it until now. The conversation was begun and carried on with considerable tenderness of feeling on my part, and was concluded with mutual expressions of good will and respect for each other. My heart's desire and prayer to God is, that these opportunities afforded to a weak and insufficient instrument of appealing to the heart and consciences of individuals, may be blessed of God, eventually to the furtherance of the Gospel, and to the salvation of the persons themselves.

Monday, Oct. 13. In conversation with our dear brother Seneca White (no name) today I have found that our suspicions in regard to Jacket's apparent friendliness were abundantly confirmed. It seems that on last week he proposed to some of our young chiefs the following plan: That as they (the Christian party) had received the Gospel among them and were determined to adopt the religion of the Christian white people and fully to desert the religion of their ancestors; and that in consequence they had exposed themselves to the delusions and treachery of the





whites which would one day end in the overthrow of the whole nation; and whereas, this reception of ministers and teachers of another color and another blood among them had divided the council fire, which had always burned among them with so many indications of kindness and peace from the Great Spirit, and that they had become divided by parties and torn with wrangling and dissension; now, to rectify all these disorders, to restore peace and amity, and to rekindle the council fire of the nation, he had the following plan to propose, which, if they were men endowed by the Great Spirit with any degree of wisdom, they must see would effectually promote all these ends.

The plan was this: They had sent one of their young men some time ago abroad to school among the whites. He had been gone a number of years, and has now returned and in the opinion of the Christian chiefs themselves was fully adequate to teach their children all that was necessary for them to know. "Dismiss, then," said he, "your present teachers. We need them not. Let them go about their business. We are able to manage our own concerns and need not their assistance. We have an annuity of \$500 per year, which is for the benefit of the chiefs alone. This is commonly squandered and we are none the better for it at the last. We will give this to the young man (J. J[emison]) for his salary. We will carry on the establishment in the same place where it is now, and on the same plan. We shall be at no expense of building. You have only to turn your present teachers neck and heels out of doors, and you have all the buildings ready to your hand. We have abundance of provision also for the children and we shall be able to have a respectable school without the interference of these malicious Black Coats, whose only aim is to entrap us with their pretended displays of friendship, that they may the more successfully practice their frauds and impositions and eventually lay us waste forever."

The young chiefs said but little; promising to lay the subject before the older men; not without previously pitying the ignorance and short-sightedness of the celebrated Jacket in supposing that they could be at the expense of an



establishment which in every point of view, must cost hundreds per year; and at the same time despising the craft of the man, for an attempt to persuade them to dismiss their teachers; and then give a fatal blow to all those praiseworthy institutions which have been so triumphantly carried on among them. We have yet to learn what the older chiefs have to say in regard to this offer.

Dec. 25. This being the anniversary of our Lord's incarnation, the people assembled at the mission house for the purpose of paying us a friendly visit. We had the unexpected pleasure of introducing to the people our dear brother Mr. Hanover Bradley, who had arrived but two days before. They appeared much gratified with this reinforcement and hoped he would find encouragement in his work. The children were examined on some parts of their studies and received some premiums from their instructress, Sister Bishop. This examination appeared very gratifying to the parents. After the whole assembly had partaken of some refreshment, an address was delivered them explanatory of the occasion which had brought us together.

Sabbath, Dec. 28. After meeting the chiefs gave us to understand that the following agreement had been entered into among themselves in relation to their children. They remarked that in future it was the wish of the chiefs and parents that the children should remain at the mission house one month at a time, without having the privilege of visiting their homes. It was also understood that the children should be admitted to the privileges of the school at end of every quarter only. We sincerely believe that with the blessing of our Heavenly Father this arrangement will prove highly advantageous to the children. We now have in family 31 children, who are placed by the consent of their parents under our immediate control. This is an event for which we would thank God, under the impression that we shall be enabled more effectually by the grace of God to inculcate those principles which are essential to the redemption of this people from degradation and ruin.

Jan. 23, 1824. Today the children leave us for two days, to visit their parents. The more constantly associated we



are with these dear children the more earnestly does our heart yearn over them, and we trust the more ardent are our prayers for their salvation. Oh that He who once said, "Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not" may lift upon them the light of his countenance and guard them from the influence of temptation and the commission of sin. They have indeed, during the past month, merited our approbation and have really secured our affection.

We are much pleased to see the principal chiefs taking an increased interest in the school. Young King has proposed that some one of the chiefs call on us and lecture the children on the subject of obedience and fidelity to our commands, and we rejoice to think that they now faithfully do their duty in this respect.

Lord's Day, Jan. 25. Our religious exercises more than usually interesting. Discourse from Luke, 24:25: "O fools and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken." These words were appropriately addressed to some of our congregation who have lately manifested a disposition, if not to join with at least to connive at the worship of the Pagans. At the close of the service one of the members of the church was requested to pray. During prayer he became very much affected and burst into tears. As far as he could be understood he seemed to mourn his sins and the sins of his people before the Lord and to say, "Lord, forgive them, for they know not what they do." Solemnity and the most profound silence pervaded the assembly, and a number tried in vain to hide their tears.

Monday, Jan. 26. The most of our interesting charges returned on Saturday evening according to orders: a few have been quite unwell and their parents came and apologized, requesting permission for them to tarry a day or two until they should so far recover as to enter upon the duties of the school. Today they have all returned but one, making in all a number of 32. They appear cheerful and contented, and their progress in their studies for the last two months has given us the most pleasing encouragement.

Monday, Feb. 16. We have witnessed with no ordinary emotions for some days past, an increasing seriousness





among our children. We think we have discovered at times a tenderness among these dear children for whose salvation we labor and suffer; but have never seen them so much awed by divine things as at present. On Saturday I witnessed an occurrence of so pleasing a nature that I shall be probably justified in giving a narration of it.

As I walked out at eventide in the field to meditate, a short distance from our dwelling I met one of our largest boys retiring, just after the school had closed, into an adjoining thicket. I asked him, whither he was going. He pointed his finger and said in English that he was going yonder to pray. As I stood conversing after a few minutes another came up and said he would go on the same errand. I turned away much affected with the circumstances, and walked below the hill in the rear of the mission house, to seek a place where I might give vent to my feelings, and beg of God to meet these dear children there, and fasten conviction on their tender hearts. The evening was marked by that soft and placid stillness which insensibly leads the pious mind to survey the works of nature and to look "through Nature up to Nature's God." I could distinctly hear the voice of prayer on several sides of me. As I approached the house I saw a group of smaller boys on the brow of the hill, in perfect silence, while one was heard in an audible manner to address the throne of Him who said, "Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not." They were never more interesting in our sight than at present. May it please our covenant God to regard them with infinite tenderness.

Monday, Feb. 23. On my return from visiting one or two serious enquirers, with one of whom I had a very satisfactory interview I was much astonished at the reception of the following note from the District Attorney residing in Buffalo:

DEAR SIR: A very pressing complaint has been made to me under the law which you have no doubt seen against your remaining on the Reservation. I don't see but that I must proceed to remove you but I advised a postponement



till I could write you, but after a reasonable time to hear from you I shall be obliged to proceed.

Yours respectfully,

H. B. POTTER.

REV. MR. HARRIS.

The time then has arrived when we must in all probability abandon our interesting school of thirty promising and lovely children, our beloved family must be scattered, and the buildings of our establishment left to the mercy of an enraged enemy. And for what is all this? Why it is that some of our judges may clear their consciences in not suffering every jot and tittle of the law to fail—a law framed by an Hon. member of our Legislature in 1821 with the express purpose of gratifying Red Jacket, a pagan and profligate chief, whose bitterness against all exertions to reclaim his nation from vice and entire extinction is too well known throughout the country to need a repetition.

I have seen the Attorney General, who says that he has determined not to molest us, himself; but thinks it very probable that the judge will, on complaint being submitted to him.

Wednesday, Feb. 25. Chiefs went to council at Buffalo.

Thursday, Feb. 26. Have heard from a friend in Buffalo that all the necessary affidavits are finished and the complaint closed, for the inspection of the judge when he returns to the village, which will be in a few days. He states that as far as he can learn there is no chance of remaining on the ground much longer. Oh that we may be strengthened to endure this disappointment of our hopes, as Christians.

Wednesday, April 28. Set out this morning with the interpreter to visit a young man of the tribe whose earthly career will no doubt soon be terminated. This youth has been lingering with a consumption for about two years, but has endeared himself to every member of the mission family by many little attentions which he has often paid us; but more especially by his manly virtues and affectionate disposition. He was the intimate (bosom) friend of young



Cusick, during his residence in the Seneca mission family. Few days passed but they were seen together, sharing largely to appearance in each other's affection. They were often known by the family to be deeply engaged in religious conversation, especially when they met on the Sabbath; and we may hope that the orderly walk and conversation of that pious youth before his death were blessed to the spiritual benefit of his now lingering friends. Indeed he has told me that he should never forget to thank God for the many counsels and pious instructions of young Cusick.

On entering his apartments I scarcely recognized his countenance, "it was so marred." He fastened his eyes upon me for a moment and without speaking a word, turned away his head and wept. He appeared rational, and comfortable. He conversed but little, but on asking him the state of his mind on the near approach of death, replied in nearly the following words: "I am comfortable, I thank God; I have no fear of death. I think I have given myself into the hands of Jesus the Son of God; he will not leave me. He has said he will receive all who come to God through him, even the chief of sinners. I am a great sinner, but my hope is in the mercy of God alone." During this conversation he wept again. He thanked me for so much pains, etc.

Sabbath, [? May] 16. The Indians have called upon me to acquaint me with the death of young Jonas (the person already alluded to) and wish him buried tomorrow morning at an early hour at the burying-ground near the Seneca mission house. "Alas, my brother!"

Monday, 18th. I have been greatly gratified in witnessing an instance of the attachment of this people to the interests of the mission and to those engaged in it. A few days since I overtook one of the leading chiefs on the road, who said he thought it was too much for us to be under the necessity of losing all the improvements which we had made at the mission house. He had it in mind, he said, to persuade his people to turn out and break up all the ground which we had enclosed on their land by us, put in the seed and give us the entire proceeds of the crop. To this arrangement the nation had acceded; a considerable number





turned out, and have now broken up and seeded of themselves between four and five acres of new ground for the exclusive benefit of the mission. They seem to feel gratified in having it in their power to add their mite in the good cause; and as this is the first attempt of the kind by this people to assist us on a definite plan, I trust the Board and every well-wisher of Indian civilization will pray God, etc.

Friday, Nov. 18, 1825. Have just returned from the ordination of a brother clergyman in one of the settlements bordering on this reservation. When I look around me and see the immense "moral wastes" that lie around on every side, it affords some relief to know that God in his providence is sending forth into this wilderness one and another of his ministering servants, to sound the Gospel trumpet, and call upon sinners to repent and live. When shall the happy time come that shall find the untutored Indian and the more privileged white man embracing each other as brethren in Christ, and bowing together in humble worship of the adorable Jehovah!

Sabbath, Nov. 20. Have been prevented by the sickness of Mrs. Harris and of the teacher, Bro. Clark, from performing my accustomed labors among the Cattaraugus people. It appears very evident that God is drawing near to us in the way of judgment as well as of mercy. We have been greatly prospered in many things since we have been permitted to resume our accustomed work among the Senecas. These foolish hearts have not sufficiently recognized the finger of God in all the goodness in which he passed before us. And now that he has laid affliction upon us, shall we complain? "Shall we receive good at the hand of the Lord and not evil?" Indeed, Sister Harris has been sick nigh unto death, but the Lord has had mercy. Bro. Clark has been confined for some days, and several children of the school have been compelled to retire to their homes, all affected with the same disease, the typhus fever.

Sabbath, Nov. 27. Spent with the congregation at Buffalo.

Monday, Nov. 28. Had an interesting meeting at the house of Col. Pollard, with a number of natives, men and



women, who were yesterday requested to convene for social worship and private conversation on the subject of religion. It is after all one of the most interesting if not the most effectual means of preaching the Gospel to this poor people, provided my own soul is blessed with that sacred unction which is so essential to enable a servant of Christ to preach the Gospel either from house to house or in the "more publick places of concourse."

Sabbath, Dec. 4. It was my turn in course to have spent this day in visiting the Tuscaroras. I yesterday set out for this purpose, but having previously acquired a heavy cold, in attendance on the sick, and on my arrival at Buffalo finding some indications of fever, after consideration of all the circumstances, have felt it duty to postpone the visit.

Tuesday, Dec. 13. Set out on Saturday last for Cattaraugus with one of our largest and most promising members of the mission school, as interpreter, designing to spend a day or two, after the labors of the Sabbath, in visiting from house to house and in attempting to bring the truths of our holy religion home to some, at their own firesides. Our Sabbath congregation, usually small at this station, was much diminished on this occasion, as I suppose by the depth of snow which fell on Saturday, rendering the cold very severe; and as their place of worship is destitute at present of any convenience for fire, many no doubt were deterred from attending. The stated interpreter for some cause not appearing, we could do little else than commend ourselves into the hands of him who is able to cause these "dry bones to live." An apparently solemn address was however delivered by the youth who accompanied me, who seems to take great pleasure in religious duties.

Went home with a number of the tribe to tarry for the night. Had a very interesting conversation with my host's family on the subject of the "one thing needful." Find that his wife and son-in-law are quite serious and enquiring. It was truly delightful to hold up a crucified Jesus to souls groping their way in ignorance and error.

Sabbath, Dec. 18. Arrived last evening at Hawley's settlement, within three miles of the Tuscarora Reservation.



near enough to enable me to meet with the Tuscaroras in season for public worship, after giving a lecture in the morning to the people who are in the habit of assembling here for prayer and praise. The settlement appears very grateful for labors of this kind, which is a sufficient inducement of itself "not to be weary in well-doing," hoping that the seed sown by the blessing of God may fall on some other than the "hard and stony ground." They have also resolved to make some contribution, as they shall be able, to the Society's funds.

Found the Tuscaroras assembled for worship, about the ordinary number. Was enabled to speak with some degree of feeling, from Rev. 22:17: "The spirit and the bride say come; and let him that heareth say come, and let him that is athirst come, and whosoever will let him take the water of life freely." As usual, they appeared to listen with considerable attention; but whether they "be hearers only and not doers of the word" is best known to him who will judge every man "according to the fruit of his doings."

It is a fact not to be concealed, that whatever this people have been in days that are gone by, and however much they may have benefitted by missionary labors, the prospects of moral cultivation among them are at present dark and portentous. So true it is that nothing but the overpowering grace of God can rescue fallen degraded man from despair and death.

Thursday, Dec. 22. Today the children of the school leave us for a few days to visit their parents, having completed the term of three months without calling to see their homes except on errands. Their deportment and progress have in many respects been highly satisfactory. Visitors who have sometimes called upon [us] have expressed their agreeable surprise in finding them so tractable, and evincing so much accuracy in the rudiments of learning.

Sabbath, Dec. 25. Have spent another Sabbath among the dear Seneca worshippers. The house was well filled, and the audience as usual was attentive and solemn. (But oh, this stubborn, this relentless heart, it shakes not at the wrath and terrors of a God!) It does seem as if these wor-



shippers were needing nothing to make them happy but the genial influences of the Holy Spirit. I am satisfied, that human instruction and reasoning are of little consequence, unattended by the teachings of the Divine Spirit. Oh when shall the time come that shall find our souls earnestly engaged in pleading for the salvation of dying men. When shall we see these "hearts of stone" melting, under the sweet sound of the Gospel as by the breath of the Almighty!

Monday, Dec. 26. The children have all returned today, with their parents, who have been invited to receive a small Christmas present. The natives appear to think very much of attentions of this kind, and it always affords us pleasure to gratify them, when by so doing we are enabled to secure their confidence and place them in a situation favorable to the reception of the Gospel message. Several applications were made for the entrance of more children, but were refused on the ground that Brother Clark's hands are full, in attending upon the present number.

Wednesday, Dec. 28. At a meeting in the evening of the young people for singing and prayer, the interpreter was so affected in communicating the observations dropped at the time that [he] was unable to speak. A number appeared to weep freely. Oh that it may be the beginning of a refreshing day of grace.

Thursday, Dec. 29. Attended the funeral of a girl who has been for some time member of the school. We all loved her much. We feel that God in this has come peculiarly near to us. He has in mercy spared the older members of the family who have been nigh unto death; but has seen proper to call away this tender youth from our side. We hope this affliction will be sanctified to us all, in leading us to contemplate the solemnities of that day when ourselves and these dear youth committed to our charge, shall stand disembodied spirits in the presence of God.

Friday, Dec. 30. Attended a social meeting at the house of Brother Seneca White, with five or six individuals; endeavored to be faithful in commending to their consciences the excellencies of the Gospel of Christ.

Jan. 2, 1826. Have just returned from my regular tour





to the Cattaraugus Reservation, during a severe storm of snow. Our congregation on Sabbath was larger than on any of the preceding. It was New Year's day. Preached from Ps. xc:12: "So teach us to number our days that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom." Felt it was pleasant to instruct these poor ignorant people in the right improvement of time, but was humbled in thinking that my heart so much resembled the house in which we worship—cold as the dead of winter, without experiencing the benefit even of "a fire of coals" to relieve the general gloom.

Monday, Jan. 9. Met with the Tuscarora congregation yesterday. Weather very unfavorable; small but attentive congregation; tried to be faithful; Providence appeared adverse. The snow melted and left me to draw home my cutter on bare ground. An addition to a heavy heart—had the mortification to find that my horse had loosed himself from his post, and was under the necessity of pacing after him in a swamp through mud and water nearly seven miles, and then give up the chase. He was taken up by one of the natives and kindly brought me the next morning. Was hospitably entertained by a stranger, with whom I was induced to put up in the fatiguing search after my faithful but for the present obstinate beast. Retired to rest, resigned to the dispensations of that God who orders all things well.

Thursday, Jan. 12. Have this day received the painful intelligence that our dear Brother Crane has been called by death from the scene of his useful labors on earth. How afflictive, yet how just! Surely it is the Lord, let him do as seemeth him good. Let us not rashly accuse "heaven's high decree." The language of this dispensation to the bereaved family as well as to the afflicted church is, "Be still and know that I am God." He will still regard the interests of both. Thereby he will watch with paternal care over the orphan children, and bless the disconsolate widow. "Leave thy fatherless children, I will preserve them alive, and let the widows trust in me." The dear people of God will not see the righteous forsaken nor their seed begging bread. Friends of the Redeemer, say to each of the little ones, "Thy



Father lives," and to the broken-hearted mother, "Thy Maker is thy husband, the Lord of Hosts is his name."

Friday, Jan. 13. Met with a number of natives, men and women, at the house of one of the members of the Seneca church. Found it was truly good to be there. Catechised two or three persons present respecting their preparations for an eternal state. One present who appeared unusually serious, gave me the following statement respecting himself: "Brother," said he, "as you have thought proper to request of me a statement of my feelings, I will tell you the whole truth. I have been thinking for a long time back of all these things. I do believe in my heart that there was such a person as Jesus Christ on this earth; and that his love to such poor sinners as me, must have been great or he never would have died such a cruel death as he did. Lately I have thought much on this subject. The way I do, to remember God, is this: I go out every day, a little distance from my family and from among my children, and there I pray to God to take away my sins; and there too with many tears I cry to Jesus to save my soul, for I am weak and cannot do anything of myself. I also pray with my children that they serve God. I am willing to give myself up to Jesus Christ to do with me just as he shall [see] best for me all the days of my life." While saying this he was much moved and wept freely. Another said, she thought a great deal about Jesus Christ and the cruel death he was willing to die for mankind. She tried to put her trust in him, and she was anxious that all her relations should do the same. For the evident feeling and interest of this meeting among all present, I cannot cease to give thanks to our Heavenly Father.

Sabbath, Jan. 15. Met with the Seneca church and congregation for public worship. House well filled, audience very respectful. Discourse from Acts 17:26-28: "And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him; though he be not far from every one of us; for



in him we live and move and have our being." After sermon, one of our pious chiefs arose and addressed his brethren on the sentiments advanced, and spoke with considerable earnestness on the importance of the subject.

Friday, Jan. 27. Went to see a very interesting young woman of the tribe, who appears to be failing fast with consumption. A year ago she was considered by us all as the most healthy and engaging in appearance of any of her sex on this reservation. Her sister, one of the largest and most promising members of the mission school, who is abundantly capable, interpreted with many tears, the substance of [our] observations. The scene was truly affecting. The afflicted woman lay reclining upon the foot of her bed, quite emaciated, yet retaining much of her characteristic sweetness of countenance. Her mother and sisters surrounded the bedside, weeping; and after the little girl had communicated what I had to say, the poor woman called her to sit down by her side, and very indistinctly said, "I am willing to die, but I hope to get well because my father prays so much for me continually. I know what the minister says is true. I am a great sinner but every day I am thinking about the Son of God." It was truly pleasant to mingle my tears with theirs, and commit them by humble prayer into the hands of a just and holy but merciful creator.

Sabbath, Jan. 29. Met with the congregation at Seneca. The audience was undiminished. I cannot but think that God was in the midst of us for good, enlarging our hearts and giving a tender and melting concern for the poor heathen. I could say, it was truly good to be there as a humble ambassador of the cross, holding forth the Word of Life to many who are groping their way in the darkness of spiritual death. Preached from the words, "Strive to enter in at the strait gate," etc.

Sabbath, Feb. 5. Met again with the church and congregation at Seneca. As the snow was deep and sleighing good, we had a crowded house. I may here remark that the congregation at this place is decidedly increasing. I discovered more strangers and others nominally belonging to the pagans than at any time previous. Preached from



Ezekiel xi:19-22: "And I will give them one heart and will put a new spirit within you; and will take the stony heart out of their flesh and give them a heart of flesh," etc. The observations made from these words were listened to with unusual interest. A very considerable feeling appeared at times to pervade the audience. Indeed my own soul, I thought, was stirred up to induce this dying people to accept of Christ. I was blessed with freedom to declare the counsel of God, with boldness, tenderness and deep feeling. I felt a confidence that God would accompany his own glorious truth with power from on high, and that our work will one day be found not in vain in the Lord.

Wednesday, Feb. 22. The remains of the young woman above alluded to were this day committed to the dust. This is a dying time with this people. They have been greatly afflicted with the prevailing influenza. Some have died of it, others of consumption. We have been called to attend five or six funerals within ten days. Among the number was another of the girls of the mission school, named Catharine Squier.

Monday, Feb. 28. Met with a number of the natives for social prayer and conversation on the subject of religion. The place of meeting was at the house of Bro. Seneca White, one of the leading men in the mission church. The circumstances in which we met were altogether comfortable, and everything invited to a faithful discharge of my duty as a servant of Christ, to about fifteen of these heathen. And I cannot now cease to give thanks for the tender, simple, unaffected letting out of their minds on this subject. There was indeed some melting of soul among some, and I doubt not that God has been in mercy pleased to affect their hearts by his Holy Spirit. I felt it impressed upon me to state to them, that they well knew what my business was among them. I felt it to be business of immense importance to them and to me, and that we shall all most certainly find it so when we come to face each other at God's bar. For this reason it was necessary that the whole truth be told—and whether for or against ourselves, let it be told.

One very interesting young chief who though friendly





to the family has never shown much attachment to serious things, in answer to the questions asked him replied as follows: "Brother, I feel it is a great enjoyment to meet with you all here, to talk over this great subject. For my part I must say that I have thought much of it for a little time back, and I cannot but think what a great sinner I have been. I have examined whether I have any prospect of a comfortable seat in the next world, and I find I have none. And among all my people it seems to me there is not one so great sinner as myself. I can do nothing more than pray Jesus to alter my heart."

Another man who has been for some time enquiring on this point, on being asked to describe the present state of his feelings, said: "I was always in the dark until I heard the word of Jesus from time to time, and ever since I have heard it I feel that I have been a great sinner. I think however his word has given me light, and now it is a great satisfaction for me to believe that Jesus is my friend. I feel that he has had pity on me, and I desire to pray to no other but Christ." Although I knew that this man had been much exercised in mind, I was not prepared to expect from him so full and positive a declaration of his hope, knowing that on former occasions he had spoken with so much caution and modesty. Yet he boldly and positively affirms "that Jesus is his friend."

Another young man, who has lately been much afflicted with the loss of an amiable and interesting wife, said as follows: "Although I have not lived long in this world, I have lived long enough to be an unworthy sinner. I cannot look upon anything that I have done in all my life, that can at all be pleasing to God. I have lately thought a great deal on this subject, and the more I think of it the more do I find that without the strength of Christ, I cannot do anything. I wish to fall in his hands, for he is merciful. I wish to trust all I have to him; and you may expect, Brother, that I shall not give over seeking his face as long as I live." Surely, thought I, "thou art not far from the kingdom of Heaven."

After an interesting and most affecting statement by Brother Seneca White, of feelings which he had for long



time entertained towards the word of God, the minister, and all the means which God had devised for converting and enlightening his own soul and the souls of his people, the conversation closed with the old White Chief—or as we usually call him, Father White. This man is above 80 years of age, is a white man, was taken captive by the Indians in their wars; has lived with them ever since, grew up to be a mighty hunter and great warrior, and is yet a sensible, affectionate and friendly old man, and has long been a chief of much influence. On being asked to declare his feelings on the subject he said:

“I feel thankful to you, that you have thought proper to know the feelings of your old father, as it has given me an opportunity of expressing my mind on a subject that I have long desired. It is indeed a fact that I have lived a long time. I have long been acquainted with this part of the country and traveled over it a great deal. And God has blessed me with the good luck of letting me hear the only way of salvation for my poor soul in my last days. I can now look back and see what a wretched wanderer from my God I have been. How foolish and wicked have been all my tricks, in which I have spent so much of my life. I always thought that there was *something that I must have to make my soul happy*; but what it was, or how to get it, I did not know. But now God makes it plain in the Gospel. I have there learned how the Son of God did, out of his great mercy, pity us poor sinners: though he was once such a great being, yet he was willing to die the cruel death to save us: and now I have heard how he tells us, if any poor sinner finds that he has a great load on his back, to come to him and he will make it light and easy. I find there is no other way for me. I am helpless, I know, if God leaves me all alone, by myself I shall surely fail. But I do try to go to him for happiness. My wicked heart is very wicked, but God knows how to make it better, and I intend, by the help of God, to cast all my sins behind me, and I desire to give myself into the hands of Jesus to do with me just as he shall see best, for he knows what my poor soul needs. And even if in my last dying day he should even see fit to keep



back this great blessing which my heart loves, still my last look shall be towards him."

Often during this conversation I was under the necessity of giving vent to my feelings, by the tears gushing from my eyes. Indeed, all were more or less affected during most of the time. What seemed to give most interest and pleasure to this meeting was, the undisguised opening of the heart with so much solemnity and feeling.

Monday, Aug. 7. Have just returned with Mrs. Harris from a pastoral visit to the Tuscarora nation. In accordance with the wishes of the chiefs before expressed I had determined to administer the Lord's Supper to the church in this place; and on this account we left home last week much earlier than I had hitherto done. It had also been signified to me by the chiefs that as it had been so long since the communion was attended to by this church, nearly two years, there had disorders of a very serious kind crept into the church, which they hoped would be in my power to rectify before the communion. Common fame had accused some of their brethren of very serious sins, for which they sincerely hoped they might be brought to an account. A meeting was appointed for Saturday for all the church and a notice in particular sent to the offending brethren. At the appointed hour the church assembled. The offending persons were all charged by their brethren with being frequently overcome by ardent spirits, which even led them into other gross transgressions, and further they stated that deputations from the church had again and again waited upon them to endeavor to soften and reclaim them, for which they were generally repaid by abuse. Being convicted upon testimony of the charge laid against them, to which they generally plead guilty, it was resolved by the church to cut off three of them from their communion, viz., the Chief George and his wife, and Elizabeth Basket. The other offending brother, by name William Chew, manifesting before the church much of a spirit of penitence, and promising by the help of God to get the better of his sins, the church resolved only to suspend for a year, hoping that God might enable him to overcome all temptations that he



might again be restored if he should prove himself a worthy member.

Everything being previously arranged the Sabbath morning dawned pleasantly and the mission church at the hour of public service presented an interesting scene. The pious few in the contiguous settlements, which are generally destitute of stated preaching, understanding from the natives that they were expecting a feast of the Lord in their village today, pretty generally attended, and sat down with them as brethren in the Lord though known by different names, to our common Master's table. To me it was a privilege and a duty truly delightful to hold out to the scattered of Christ's flock in this thirsty hill of Zion, the symbols of a Saviour's death, and to witness with what tears of joy and thankfulness many came forward and received the tokens of his love. May it be but the foretaste of that joy which the pious shall enjoy when they shall come to join the general assembly and church of the first born whose names are written in Heaven and to an innumerable company of angels.

Sabbath, Aug. 14. Met with the church and congregation at the Seneca station. In addition to the usual number of worshipers I perceived present a number of the pagans and others from different reservations who had arrived for the semi-annual council which is approaching. The house was full and crowded, and a more listening audience I do not remember ever to have addressed. My interpreter was a member of our mission school and a professor of religion. The solemnity which prevailed contributed not a little to increase my own tenderness of feeling, and I was enabled to plead with tears, that my poor auditors might repent and believe the Gospel. Some wept; and some of the poor pagans seemed by their countenances to say, "What do these things mean,—thou bringest certain strange things to our ears." May their eyes be opened to see their necessity of salvation by Christ.

Saturday, Aug. 21. Met with the Indians on the Cattaraugus settlement. We had a thin congregation, most of them being in attendance in the council at Buffalo. Found





Mr. Thayer reduced very greatly by a severe bilious attack. The Lord in mercy has we hope rebuked the disease and our brother though feeble appears mending. The school had appeared very prosperous recently, but must now be suspended for a while at least.

Sabbath, Aug. 29. Went to the Tuscarora village on Friday. Met with the church and congregation at the usual hour on Sabbath. The congregation though small appeared devout. There has been at this station for a few months past a more than usual seriousness among some of the young people. Six or seven persons have appeared for some time to be anxiously enquiring the way to heaven. It has been my desire for some time to have the enquirers present at some meeting where I might converse with them personally and together concerning the all-importance of their salvation. I accordingly appointed a meeting for the church on Monday, inviting the seriously disposed to attend; and at this meeting I was deeply affected with the indications of God's presence with us. Such appeared to be the tenderness of conscience, the deep and powerful conviction of the hatefulness of sin in the sight of God; the earnest desires which were expressed that it might be mortified, and their souls delivered from its power, that I could not for a moment doubt but that God had been among them by his spirit, and in the case of two or three "worked in them mightily." Some of these persons were so affected that they could not refrain from weeping aloud for some time. They say that when they converse on this subject they have such an awful sense of their past iniquity they cannot help crying out.

The thought was deeply impressed upon my mind that the seed which had been so long sown and watered by our much-lamented Brother Crane, would yet bring forth fruit to the praise of the Redeemer's grace.

Sept. 25. It seems that our mission school is considered by the host of strangers who visit these regions in the traveling season, as a great *curiosity*, and with many we hope a matter of special and delightful interest. The proximity of our station to the village of Buffalo affords great facility of gratifying those who are capable of being wrought upon



by the novelty of an Indian school. Scarce a day passes but several carriages stand at our yard fence loaded with visitors. Today the school has exhibited before about thirty persons, among whom we had the pleasure of counting the Hon. the Secretary of the Navy of United States\* and suite, who expressed themselves highly gratified with the intelligent countenances and the agreeable and surprising proficiency of the children. A young gentleman, a native of England, appeared so much interested as to stay the greater part of the day and left with the mission on his departure a donation of \$10.

Sabbath, Sept. 24. Met with the church and congregation at the Seneca station. The people appeared to listen with much reverence to the word preached. After finishing my address to the people a young chief, a member of the mission church, arose and addressed his brethren in a speech of nearly half an hour's length. During this discourse he was affected to weeping. It was truly affecting to see the big tear roll from his manly cheek. He spoke as if he felt what he uttered, and it seemed that what he said had the effect to make others feel, for I perceived many around me wiping their moistened faces. This evening one of the larger boys of our school came into my room, desiring to pray with me; he appeared in much distress because of his soul, said "he knew that he could never be happy till God changed his heart." The appearance of this youth has for some time, encouraged us to hope that God was striving with him by his spirit.

Sabbath, Feb. 25, 1827. The exercises of this day have deepened the impression that God has come near to this people in a peculiar manner. There has been to say the least an unusual degree of attention and of feeling for several weeks past, and what the great Head of the Church intends for us Time will determine. We feel that present indications of God's special presence among this people and mission school are such as to constitute a loud call upon the members of this mission family, and all of us who profess to love God and the souls of men, to rise and trim our lamps

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\* Samuel Lewis Southard.



and to go out to meet the Bridegroom. Our Sabbath meetings for some time have been unusually crowded, so that the chiefs have ordered several additional seats to be furnished for the accommodation of the audience. The appearance of this people is extremely solemn. The text selected for this day's discourse was John xiv:1: "Let not your heart be troubled," chosen with primary application to the church in reference to some difficulties which had appeared; and secondly, applied by way of contrast to the impenitent sinners who had no Saviour or Holy Spirit of God to comfort their souls; none but an angry God saying to them, "Cleanse your hands ye sinners and purify your hearts ye double-minded; be afflicted; be afflicted and mourn and weep, let your laughter be turned to mourning and your joy to heaviness."

After a second address by the teacher one of the members of the church arose and appeared to speak feelingly to his people on the subject of their soul's salvation. I did feel to pray with weeping, that God would appear to build up his Zion, in the midst of this heathen population.

Tuesday, Feb. 27. God is drawing nigh to this people in judgments as well as mercy. Today two of their children were brought to the mission house to be interred, suddenly cut down by the stroke of death. One of these was a youth of about 20 years of age, the oldest son of one of the principal chiefs of the nation. He was in many respects an interesting young man, but died without giving any satisfactory evidence, to us, of meeting with a saving change. He was greatly beloved by his parents, who mourn his loss intensely. The father, when the corpse was exhibited for the last time, went to the coffin and spreading his hands over his face, poured a flood of tears over the face of his deceased son, and then retired, weeping as he went, and seeming to me to say with David, "Oh Absolom, my son, would God I had died for thee, Oh Absolom, my son, my son."

The other was an infant child of about a year old, belonging to a young man in the tribe, who has indeed been sufficiently wicked and profligate in his life, although of a good understanding and of considerable education. This



was the second bereavement of the kind to which he had been called in a short time. God seems to have spoken to his soul in this dispensation loudly. After a pointed address from both minister and teacher, the father of this child arose and said: that he believed that every word which the minister and teacher had said was true, that he was an awful sinner against God and must repent, and that God was justly punishing him for his iniquity. This address, accompanied with weeping, instantly produced a gush of tears from almost every eye in the room. It was truly a melting season. He was followed by the chief who had lost his first-born, in an address of some minutes, whose utterance was often choked by the deep sorrows which appeared to overwhelm his soul. I doubt not but God's spirit was there. The funeral was uncommonly large, still and solemn as the grave itself. The father of the infant voluntarily knelt down at the mouth of the grave and spreading his hands over the coffin, prayed audibly in the presence of all the company, that God would watch over this infant's dust, and prepare him and his to meet him in judgment. Never did I attend an Indian funeral with such deep excitement as on this day.

Wednesday, Feb. 28. We had again this afternoon a goodly number met together for prayer. It was our weekly prayer-meeting and conference. Several friends of missions were providentially present with us, amongst whom was the Presbyterian minister from Buffalo, with some friends who encouraged the people, by telling them that he rejoiced greatly in seeing so many of them seeking the salvation of their souls; that some sinners of the whites in his village were similarly engaged at this time, and hoped they would seek Christ together. My own soul I thought was drawn out with some meltings in prayer for this poor people, and I had reason to believe that every Christian present did feel that God was in the midst of us. I could discover some of our vicious young men, formerly addicted to drunkenness and lust, manifestly moved, having their handkerchiefs to their faces. We long to see God come down by his infinite spirit to lay hold of the hearts of sinners and convict their souls. We have some faith to believe he will.





Sabbath, March 4. To us a most interesting Sabbath. The minister being absent on a visit to the Tuscarora brethren, the exercises of the day were opened by the teacher in reading, the Sunday School singing and an address to a very crowded house, so full as that numbers could not be seated. He was followed by six others, who desired an opportunity of expressing their feelings. Some were the native members of the church who talked and wept as they talked. One was a pagan chief, and considered as one of Red Jacket's principal props. He professes to give up his paganism. Another was a youth of our school, about 15 years of age, who appears to have found Christ within a short time. He was one of the first members of the school that was awakened. Although it was the first time he ever spoke to such an assembly he rose up deliberately and made a short address, and then in a feeling manner prayed. Some of the other speakers were some of our young men, who on Wednesday were discovered as indicating much agitation and occasionally wiping their eyes with their kerchiefs. Oh this has been a day which has gladdened the hearts of God's people and we doubt not has produced joy in Heaven.

March 5. Monthly concert of prayer. It was judged expedient on account of the numbers to adjourn from the school-room to the council-house, the place of our Sabbath exercises. One of the members of the church in Buffalo was present and made an address to the people. Several addresses were made and very considerable feeling was manifested. A request was finally made that if any were present who wished Christians to pray for them, that they should rise. Among others several women arose and addressed a few words to this meeting which created much interest. Among the rest was the wife of the celebrated pagan chief Red Jacket, who says she feels she must repent: that she is an old and wicked sinner, and wishes to be remembered in the prayers of Christians. There is something peculiar in the case of this woman. She has for a long time had great struggles of conscience in conforming to heathenish customs, but she states she has done it out of regard to the feelings of her husband, by whom she was over-



awed. She has recently conversed with him on her desires to become a Christian. He has told her plumply that the moment she publicly professes such an intention that moment will terminate forever their connection as man and wife. She has deliberately made up her mind to seek the salvation of her soul, and if he leaves her for it, he must go. She hopes to gain more than he has to give her. The salvation of her soul she views of far more importance than all that. The Lord Jesus she must seek and hazard all consequences. I understand that her husband has really fulfilled his threat; and we humbly trust that he who said "He that loveth father or mother, son or daughter or husband or wife more than me, is not worthy of me," will strengthen her to take up her cross and bear it. She is about 50 years old.

Wednesday, March 7. The exercises of this afternoon were not without interest. Several members of the church addressed the meeting. Towards the close of the meeting a woman arose and expressed a desire of making known her feelings. She is on a visit from the Genesee River to her son's family who reside in this place and who is himself a member of the mission church. She stated that she had lived a pagan all her days until very lately. She had heard something of the Gospel, but knew not what it meant, neither did she believe in it. It was not till she came here to see her son that her mind became impressed with a sense of the danger of her soul. The first thing which had the effect of opening her eyes was the sight of an emblematical cut, exhibiting the heart of a sinner under control of the Devil and influenced by the evil feelings which he produced in this heart. After the representations in this plate were explained to her by another, she felt at that moment and ever since, that she was the very person. She went the next Sabbath to meeting with a heart sorrowful indeed on account of the load of her sins; and there for the first time in her life she heard of a merciful Saviour of men who had come into this world to save just [such] a poor old sinner as she was. She entreated her relations to remember her in their prayers that God might please to have mercy on



her poor soul. She thought with God's help she should follow on to know the Lord.

Sabbath, March 11. The council house was this day crowded again with men, women and children, listening with solemn stillness to the words of eternal life. Preached from Hosea, 13: 9: "Oh Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself, but in me is thine help." After the usual exercises of singing, prayers and speaking, an opportunity was offered to all and every person who had a desire to express their feelings, to let them be known. Among those who spoke were some of the church, whose solemn appearance and lively Christian feelings were creditable to their profession. Among the speakers also was the young man who felt so deeply at the burial of his child. He had not spoken publicly since. He has been a vicious youth, but is now evidently stricken of God's spirit. Every look and intonation of voice seemed to show that God's hand was upon him. He spoke with great solemnity and deep feeling.

The now repudiated wife of Red Jacket again arose and spoke a few words which were not distinctly understood, but what she said was accompanied with sobs and tears.

It was again requested that those who were desirous of being remembered by Christians in their prayers, should rise; when 17 arose from their seats, among whom were several of our old chiefs, some of whom have long been addicted to habits of intemperance. With how much of sincerity they made this request is known only to God. Blessed be the name of the Lord of Hosts, for the assurance that "with God, all things are possible."

Thursday, May 3. The native members of the mission church at this station were this evening called together for two reasons. The first was to endeavor to impress their minds with the importance of a suitable preparation of heart for the solemn renewal of their covenant with God, at the sacramental board on the Sabbath approaching. They were affectionately and earnestly admonished in regard to those feelings and views which they ought to cherish on such an occasion, both as it respected God and each other. The other was to consult with them on the propriety of inviting



several persons to participate with us in the solemnities of that day, who have for some time appeared to give evidence of genuine Christian character. This interview was truly interesting and appeared calculated to draw out their affection to each other, and to promote each other's eternal welfare. They did not retire until a late hour, apparently under deeply solemn feelings.

Friday, May 4. At the preparatory lecture this afternoon there was a very full attendance, increased probably by the expectation of hearing the examination of the persons above referred to, as candidates for the approaching communion. It was moving to hear the relations of some of these persons and to witness the humility and tenderness which appeared in their whole deportment. I cannot but hope that that God who searches the heart and tries the reins of the children of men will graciously regard this surrender of themselves to his service, and if made in faith and contrition of soul, the desire of their souls will be granted. The number received from this Reservation was six, one male and five females, together with two who had arrived from the Allegany and whom the church had voted to receive to their communion during our visit thither last winter and who were baptised on that occasion.

Sabbath, May 6. The mission church, consisting of 20 native members together with the mission family have again been privileged in the good providence of God of surrounding the sacramental board and commemorating the love of our infinitely exalted Lord and Saviour. Although the weather was cold and stormy the house was well filled with decently-dressed native men and women at an early hour. A number of men and women had come down from Cataraugus on purpose to witness the solemnities of this communion season. We do feel that it has been truly a refreshing season to us all. There were a number of the spectators who appeared deeply affected during the exercises. The countenances of many (though always grave) had acquired additional solemnity. The trickling tear was seen to glisten on the face of some, and the involuntary sigh seemed to indicate they felt the need of that which these emblems but





feebly shadowed forth. Long may the impressions continue which the exercises of this day were calculated to produce.

Wednesday, May 9. This afternoon the people met for the monthly concert of prayer. The interest of feeling on the subject of their soul's salvation remains unimpaired. Indeed the opportunity afforded at the close of this meeting of expressing their feelings, drew forth some affecting statements from a number, principally from Cattaraugus. The relation of their feelings was accompanied with weeping. Our souls feel strengthened to trust in God, to carry on his own work, which we trust the malice of wicked men or devils will not be able to frustrate.

Sabbath, May 20. We have been much gratified in witnessing the eagerness with which the adults in the tribe attend upon the Sabbath school which by the brothers of the mission has been recently commenced for their benefit. Its exercises are attended to on Sabbath morning at the place of meeting. On entering the house you might discover persons of both sexes and of all ages with their books, striving to learn to read, some taught by their children and grandchildren belonging to the school, others by the teachers. The school at present consists of 70 or 80, and is increasing. It is our intention if the Lord will, and provided they pursue the subject until they are able to read, to attempt a translation of certain parts of the Scriptures into their language. This is an object towards which a number look with great interest.

Sabbath, June 17. We are still encouraged to believe that God is carrying on his work amongst this poor people. I visited the Cattaraugus station last Sabbath with a number of the native brethren and sisters from Seneca. They had heard that a number of their brethren at Cattaraugus had set out in the good ways of the Lord, and felt anxious to encourage and pray with them. We found that God was in the midst of them. The solemnity and attention to the great concerns of the soul are evidently greatly increased within a few weeks at this station. One young man, a pagan, came forward before the congregation on the Sabbath, and stated that he had in days past been addicted to lying, stealing,



adultery and drunkenness, and everything that was bad, and that he could get no peace in his soul, until he had made this confession. He was directed to the Saviour of sinners. Eight or ten are indulging hope of God's mercy.

Tuesday, June 19. We were this evening visited by about 20 persons, chiefly females, attended by the interpreter. They came to be instructed, they said, in the commands of the Saviour. A few seemed to be rejoicing in hope, others were but partially convinced of their dangerous condition as rebels against God, and others were deeply sensible of their lost and ruined state by nature and practice. The deep concern and tenderness with which some spoke of the Saviour of lost men, truly affected and melted down our hearts. Oh that we had faith as a grain of mustard seed; surely we should see the work of God go on triumphantly among this people.

Monday, July 9. Have just returned from the Cattaraugus station, whither I had gone in company with a party of Christian Indians from this village to form a church and administer the communion. We enjoyed a very interesting and to me truly solemn season yesterday. A church was organized of 13 members, including Mr. and Mrs. Thayer. The statements of these persons in regard to their religious views and experiences were on the whole very satisfactory. The little chapel on Sabbath was well filled. A number of pagans of both sexes were present, to witness the exercises. All conducted themselves with the utmost propriety. Solennity appeared to pervade the assembly throughout all the exercises; and much tenderness was visible among the members. The Lord grant that this vine may be one of his own right hand's planting.

When I reflect upon what God has done for us since last January, at the stations of Seneca and Cattaraugus I cannot but adore that almighty grace which so far succeeded our unworthy labors. The hopeful conversion of 15 or 20 heathen must under any circumstances gladden the hearts of God's people; but here we trust the Spirit of God has blessed his truth before we have acquired the language of the [natives] delivered through an interpreter destitute of



learning, and though seriously disposed is not pious. The seriousness at Cattaraugus commenced after the return of the Cattaraugus people from witnessing the exercises of our communion at Seneca in April. It was evident that God did make the solemnities of that occasion a means of extending his own work among the poor Senecas. Several were so affected with a sense of their condition that at the monthly concert next day they stated unasked their feelings with sobs and tears. From this time forward the seriousness at Cattaraugus spread rapidly. Cases of conviction for sin were multiplied daily, and strong indications of the operations of the Holy Spirit were manifested in every meeting, and we hope that the good work has not yet ceased. A number profess to have found peace in Christ, besides those admitted to communion, but it is necessary that the greatest caution be used in dealing with these ignorant people. It has ever been our uniform practice to give them an opportunity of proving themselves whether they be in the faith. Some of those admitted we had looked upon as pious for more than a year. The experience of the others appeared so clear and satisfactory that we judged it might conduce to their spiritual improvement and strengthen them in their resolutions to be for God by entering into a solemn covenant to be his forever.

In a conversation had by one of these young converts with a Quaker, the latter stated to him his view of the work of the Spirit, under the similitude of a cord let down from Heaven, and attached to every man's heart; and that when this cord was touched by the finger of God, the motion was invariably felt at the lower extremity. "It may be so," said the man, "but I still have my doubts whether that is just so. I have been a good deal accustomed to fishing. I have frequently cast in my hook, well baited. I have sometimes felt very certain after it has sunk from my sight that I felt the bite of a fish. On examination I found I had no fish, and the bait was undiminished. Now it might possibly have been a fish that thus deceived me or it might have been the Devil. So, friend, I am afraid the Devil has more to do with this cord you speak of than you think for."



Another person, an old pagan, who is still an inquirer, stated that his first serious impressions were made by going to hear the minister preach on one occasion out of curiosity. The text was, "Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden," etc. After stating who made the promise and to whom it was made, he felt much surprised. He had thought always that the Bible was sent to the white people; but now for the first time in his life he heard that this promise was made to poor sinners of every tribe and nation and to the very wickedest and the chief of sinners, if they would but repent and turn to God. And further the minister held up the book in his hand and said that this was not the only promise that was made to such poor sinners; but that the Bible was full of just such promises to the penitent. "Then I felt," said the man, "that it was not possible for man to contrive to make such words as I heard that day from the Bible, for nobody but God could do it; and fully believe that this is the Word of God and the true religion, and I am determined to seek the salvation of my soul till I die."

August 1. Again visited Cattaraugus. The religious excitement which has prevailed at this station for some time appears to have abated in a considerable degree. The state of feeling on the subject of religion is however, still interesting. On Sabbath a meeting was appointed for Monday afternoon in a very remote corner of the Reservation where two or three families reside, at the distance of eight miles from the house of worship. There were about 25 souls present, as a number had come from the settlement below. A woman at this place appears to be rejoicing in hope, who has a child perfectly blind of about seven years of age. While the mother was about answering a question which was addressed to her, her little blind boy requested leave to speak a few words to me. Leave being granted, he turned and said that he wished me to understand that he "lately thought much about his God and Saviour, and he was constantly praying that God might prepare him to die and go to Heaven," and then turning up his sightless balls, lay down in his place. The manner in which the child spoke





these words produced instant weeping by all present. A number spoke their feelings after this, and the meeting became truly interesting. After spending about two hours in religious conversation and prayer the meeting was closed. On rising to return home the man of the house remarked that it was too far to go without some refreshment, and stated that the women had prepared something for us. The table was then spread with a very wholesome meal, of which we all heartily partook. It may here be remarked that this man has for years been addicted to drinking, but for months [MS. incomplete].

Sept. 12. Visited again the Allegany Reservation in company with Mr. Cowles, our assistant teacher and a small company of native Christians from Seneca and Cattaraugus, some of whom had resided there several years ago. They embraced the opportunity of accompanying us to pay a visit and attend upon the religious meetings which were expected to be held among their brethren. Word had been previously sent to the Alleganies that we were expected; and preparations were made for our reception (as their circumstances admit), among which we were all not a little pleased to find that a fat ox had the day previous been slaughtered, to ensure a plentiful supply for our table.

We did not reach the Reservation the first day, but were all kindly invited to spend the night. The people all seemed greatly pleased to see us. Our meetings were frequent while we tarried and at times quite solemn and encouraging. We were enabled to visit a number of families and have become better [acquainted]. On one occasion several men and women expressed their feelings on the subject and appeared truly affected with their condition as sinners, expressed their determination in the strength of the Saviour to repent and obey the voice of God in the Gospel of his Son; which once in a great while they were permitted to hear, when the minister from Seneca took upon him to come and see them once or twice a year, or when some passing messenger of God felt disposed to convene them for such a purpose, which however very rarely occurred. On the whole I am satisfied that God is extending the knowledge of his truth among this



branch of the Seneca family ; and although now destitute of the stated exertions of any devoted missionary of Christ, there are individuals who appear to have truly set out to seek the Saviour of lost men. There is a missionary establishment at this village by the Society of Friends, who instruct a small school ; but they hold no meetings with them on the Sabbath or at other times. The natives of the Christian party meet regularly on the Sabbath, sing and pray together by themselves, and are usually addressed by one of the three brethren who belong to the church at Seneca. The Lord grant that some faithful, etc.

Oct. 7. Yesterday our little church was once more privileged to commemorate the dying love of Christ, at this place. There were some circumstances of peculiar interest connected with this celebration of the supper. Ten individuals were baptised in the name of the Holy Trinity, and for the first time sealed their covenant engagements to be the Lord's. The most of these persons we look upon as the fruits of the revival with which God was pleased to visit this mission the last season. These together with six admitted last spring has increased our little church to the number of 30. To suppose that all these are the redeemed children of God, regenerated by his spirit and sanctified by grace, is probably more than can be supposed of an equal number of Christians educated in the bosom of the Christian church, and living under the more enlarged dispensations of his goodness. But their deportment, their attention to the means of grace, their apparent affection towards the children of God and the Saviour of men, have in the main led us to hope that the most if not all are essentially acquainted with the truth as it is in Jesus. Much solemnity and unaffected devotion of spirit this day appeared among the native members of the church, for which we desire to bless our covenant God, Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness and for his wonderful works to the children of men !

Oct. 25, 1828. Went to the Tuscarora village on Thursday by invitation from Mr. Elliot, together with two members of the mission family for the purpose of dedicating the



mission chapel, which has just been finished, to the service of God. This chapel was commenced several years ago under the superintendence of our lamented Brother Crane; but owing to the fluctuating state of the mission for some time since Mr. C's departure, it has not been completed till now. It was commenced by the Indians themselves but they were not able to finish it without foreign aid. This has been afforded chiefly by a gentleman in Rochester, N. Y.

The day was uncommonly fine for the season, and the seats were all filled at an early hour with red men and white, many having come from a number of miles distant. Rev. Mr. Parsons the elder from L—— and Mr. Parsons the younger from the Falls were present and took part in the exercises of the day. Preached from Genesis 28:17: "How dreadful is this place," etc. After the sermon the communion of the Lord's body was administered to a large company of Christians of different denominations who had flocked to attend this omen of good to the Tuscaroras.

Thursday, Nov. 13. Have just returned from the Cattaraugus station, whither I had gone to attend a joint council of the church at Seneca and Cattaraugus, convened for the purpose of administering church discipline in the case of a man and wife, members of the church at Cattaraugus. As this is the first instance at either of the stations in which it has become necessary to inflict the censures of the church, the case, as might naturally be expected, excited among the Indians a great deal of interest. It was the request of the chiefs at Cattaraugus that some of the old chiefs at Seneca should come down to settle some difficulties which had grown out of this affair. The principal circumstances attending this case of discipline were as follows: A young man and his wife, both members of the church at Cattaraugus, had of late so disagreed as in their opinion to be unable to live together. When this was announced, the church took up the subject and succeeded as was supposed in settling the matter between the parties, as to induce them to lay aside their animosities and return to their duties as Christians. They did so return for awhile; but ere long the flame broke out still more violently than before and attended too with



very suspicious circumstances on the part of the woman. The reports which were in circulation made it necessary for the council to investigate the whole business from the beginning. After spending the greater part of three days and two nights in the trial, the council believed the individuals equally guilty of the offences which each alleged against the other and suspended both from the privileges of the church. As there were some circumstances of peculiar delicacy that were subjected to the council I could not but admire the caution, self-command and candid judgment exhibited by the members of the court.

*[The journal ends abruptly at this point, no continuation of it being known.]*

NOTE. In 1831 there was published by the Massachusetts Sabbath School Union, Boston, a little book entitled "Letters and Conversations on the Indian Missions at Seneca, Tuscarora, Cattaraugus, in the State of New York, and Maumee in the State of Ohio." (24mo, pp. 112.) Though written for children in the old-time "juvenile" style which no child ever can have enjoyed, its many facts relating to these missions give it historical value. It appears to be based on letters written from the reservations, especially that on Buffalo Creek, by some one connected with the mission during Mr. Harris's service there. The work sets forth that Mr. Harris, with his wife, went to the Buffalo Creek reservation in October, 1821, under the auspices of the New York Missionary Society, which that year united with the United Foreign Missionary Society. The mission boarding school was opened in the spring of 1822, with fifteen pupils. The mission church is stated to have been organized in April, 1823; the church register gives the date as August 10th. Numerous incidents are related not mentioned in the Harris journal. One of them is the following:

"In May, 1823, after Mr. Harris had labored at Seneca about two years he attended the anniversary of the society under whose patronage he labored, in the city of New York, and took with him two little Indian girls. At one of the large meetings, Mr. Harris made a very animating speech, in the midst of which these children were introduced to the audience. It was unexpected, and the sight of them, hanging on each other's necks in all their native artlessness and simplicity, raised such a tide of sympathy, affection and compassion for their whole tribe, that many tears flowed, and large sums were contributed for the support of that mission and school."

When the law of 1821, prohibiting white men to live on the reservation, was enforced, Mr. Harris sent his scholars and their teachers to the Cattaraugus station, came to Buffalo with his wife and took lodgings, visiting the Seneca mission often and preaching there on Sundays, so continuing until the law was modified, when he resumed his residence. In 1826 occurred the "revival of religion" among the Senecas, when Red Jacket's wife joined the church. That chief continued hostile to Mr. Harris, but, when about to die, asked to see him. "His wife sent for him, but he did not arrive until an hour or two after the chief had expired." He died "like a true heathen; he charged his wife to put a phial of water in his hand, just before he ceased





breathing, to prevent the *wicked one* from carrying off his soul." Red Jacket died Jan. 20, 1830. For the true account of the funeral, written by Mr. Harris, see *The Missionary Herald*, vol. xxvi. An erroneous account of Red Jacket's relations with Mr. Harris, given in McKenney's "Indian Biography," is refuted in Stone's "Life" of Red Jacket, q. v. It was soon after Red Jacket's death that the Senecas became disaffected with Mr. Harris and he left the mission, June 28, 1830. His subsequent career is not known to the editor of the present volume.

The enforcement of the removal law in 1821 occasioned much acrimonious discussion, especially in religious journals. In the *Western Recorder*, printed at Utica, an article, said to be written by Rev. M. P. Squier of Buffalo, charged the removal of the Seneca mission to the Universalists of Buffalo. This was sharply refuted in long letters in the *Gospel Advocate*, April 2 and 9, 1824. The *Advocate* was Buffalo's first religious paper, or rather magazine. It was edited by Thomas Gross and printed by H. A. Salisbury. (Vol. I, January 17, 1823, to January 9, 1824; Vol. II, "Published by Simon Burton," January 16, 1824, to January 7, 1825, misprinted 1824.) Only one set of these volumes—that in the Buffalo Historical Society library—is known.

## XII. THE SENECA MISSION CHURCH.

### "REGISTER OF THE SENECA MISSION CHURCH ORGANIZED AUGUST 10TH, 1823. (NEAR BUFFALO.)"

NOTE—This list appears to have been made in 1879, and was found with other papers at the Mission Station on the Cattaraugus Reservation, 1903. It seems to contain some repetitions.

- |                                  |                                     |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1823.                            | 23. Mrs. Tall Peter.                |
| 1. Rev. T. S. Harris,            | 24. Mrs. George Smith.              |
| 2. Mrs. T. S. Harris,            | 25. Mrs. Samuel Wilson (sister of   |
| 3. James Young,                  | John Seneca),                       |
| 4. Mrs. James Young,             | 26. Mrs. William King,              |
| 5. Miss Phebe Selden,            | 27. John Snow,                      |
| 6. Miss Asenath Bishop,          | 28. Mother Seneca, mother of Seneca |
| 7. Seneca White,                 | White, John Seneca, and             |
| 8. John Seneca,                  | White Seneca.                       |
| 9. James Stephenson,             | 29. Mrs. Jenette Wilson (alive in   |
| 10. Tall Peter.                  | 1870),                              |
| 1824.                            | 30. Jacob Shongo,                   |
| 11. Col. John Pollard (chief).   | 31. Wife of Tall Peter.             |
| 12. Henry Twoguns, died Jan. 17, | 32. Mrs. Robert Pierce,             |
| 1855.                            | 33. Mrs. George Smith.              |
| 1825.                            | 34. Mother Jameson (grandmother     |
| 13. John Snow,                   | of Wm. Jameson).                    |
| 14. George Smith,                | 35. Lewis Twoguns (brother of       |
| 15. Mrs. John Pollard.           | Daniel Twoguns),                    |
| 1826.                            | 36. Daniel Twoguns,                 |
| 16. White Seneca (chief),        | 37. Mrs. Red Jacket (grandmother    |
| 17. Father White (chief),        | of John Jacket),                    |
| 18. Samuel Wilson,               | 38. Mrs. Wm. Jones (mother of       |
| 19. T. S. Harris, Jr. (In han),  | Wm. Jones),                         |
| 20. Mrs. Lydia Young King.       | 39. Mrs. John Snow,                 |
| 1827.                            | 40. Mrs. Seneca White,              |
| 21. William King,                | 41. Mother White (same as No. 28),  |
| 22. Mrs. George Jameson,         | 42. Mrs. James Stevenson (mother    |
|                                  | of Moses Stevenson),                |
|                                  | 43. Big Jacob (Alleghany Res.).     |



## 1828.

44. Joseph Isaac,
45. Mrs. Sally Twoguns (wife of Daniel),
46. Miss Hannah White (daughter of White Seneca),
47. Miss Susan White (daughter of White Seneca),
48. Mrs. Eliza Twenty Canoes,
49. Mrs. Henry Twoguns,
50. Mrs. Polly Johnson, 1st,
51. George Silverheels (father of Henry S.),
52. Miss Lydia Moore.

## 1832.

53. Young King (father of Jabez King),
54. Jacob Bennet,
55. Destroy Town,
56. Capt. Billy,
57. Reuben James,
58. Miss Laura Black Squirrel,
59. Mrs. Destroy Town,
60. Mrs. Jacob Bennet,
61. Miss Ruth Judd (Mrs. Jabez Stevenson),
62. Mrs. White Seneca,
63. Mrs. George Fox,
64. Mrs. Logan (mother of Saul),
65. Mrs. Polly Johnson (2nd),
66. Robert Silverheels (brother of Henry S.),
67. Mrs. Sally Lockwood (white),
68. Mrs. Joseph Silverheels,
69. Miss Rachel Crouse,
70. George Crouse,
71. Mrs. George Crouse,
72. Mrs. Isaac Pierce,
73. Chas. Fisher Pierce,
74. Isaac Jamieson,
75. Mrs. James Shongo,
76. John Jacob,
77. Miss Helen Robertson (daughter of James),
78. Da-and-i Jamieson,
79. Mrs. Jacob Blacksnake,
80. Aleck Doxtater,
81. Mrs. Aleck Doxtater,
82. James Young,
83. Mrs. James Young,
84. Miss Mary King,
85. Miss Olive Peter,
86. Miss Catharine V. King.

## 1833.

87. Polly Dennison.

## 1834.

88. Wilson's mother,
89. Mrs. Capt. Billy,
90. Wm. Jones (interpreter and father of Wm. Jones),
91. Josiah Armstrong,
92. Mrs. Chas. (Ruth) Seneca.

## 1837.

93. Henry Sheldon (white),
94. Mrs. Philinda Spies,
95. Miss Tirza Ann Hoyt (white),
96. Mrs. Nancy (Levi) Williams.

## 1842.

97. Wm. Krouse.

## 1843.

98. Mrs. Lucy (Wm.) Krouse,
99. Widow Wm. Armstrong,
100. Mrs. Hannah Howard (white),
101. Mrs. Nancy (Deacon) Isaac.

## 1844.

102. Sylvester Cowles Lay,
103. Lydia Giddings Krouse,
104. Mrs. Nancy Sundown,
105. Phebe Seneca (Mrs. Jabez Jones).

## 1845.

106. Deacon Jacob Johnson,
107. George Turkey,
108. John Turkey (father of George Turkey),
109. Joseph Turkey (interpreter in M. E. Ch. son of 107),
110. Mrs. John Turkey,
111. Mrs. George Turkey,
112. William Scott,
113. Mrs. Harriet W. Jones (sister of Z. Jameson),
114. Mrs. Aurelia W. Bennet (sister of Z. Jameson),
115. Thomas Crow,
116. James Turkey,
117. Mrs. James Turkey,
118. Aaron Turkey (cousin of 107),
119. Miss Laura Turkey (sister of Aaron T.),
120. Charles Greybeard,
121. Mrs. Chas. Greybeard,
122. Miss Martha Dennis.

## 1846.

123. Miss Julia Pierce,
124. Miss Mary M. Howe,
125. Franklin Crow (son of 115),
126. Mrs. Esther Baltimore (wife of Henry Baltimore),
127. Miss Abigail Silverheels (daughter of George S.),
128. Mrs. Lucy King,
129. Miss Rhode Bates.

## 1847.

130. John Thomas (colored),
131. Mrs. John Bennet,
132. Mrs. Wm. Scott,
133. Jonathan Johnson,
134. Mrs. George Jamieson,
135. Mrs. Samuel Gordon,
136. Miss Nancy Wilson (daughter of Samuel).

137. Miss Belsey W. Turkey,
138. Mrs. James Spring,
139. Miss Nancy Tallchief,
140. Samuel Gordon,
141. John Jacket,
142. Miss Martha E. Hoyt (white),
143. Miss Mary Jacket (Mrs. Wm. Jones, daughter of John Jacket),
144. Mrs. John Jacket.

## 1848.

145. Mrs. Saul Logan,
146. Miss Lucy Tallchief.

## 1850.

147. S. W. McLane,
148. Mrs. S. W. McLane.



THE LIFE OF  
HORATIO JONES.

BY

GEORGE H. HARRIS.



# THE TRUE STORY *of* HOC-SA-GO-WAH PRISONER, PIONEER AND INTERPRETER

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### INTRODUCTION.

The following narrative of the life and adventures of Horatio Jones was written by George H. Harris of Rochester. Having in view its publication as a volume by itself, he amplified the somewhat scanty personal data, by sketching the general history of the Six Nations Indians, among whom his hero spent the active years of his life. Could Mr. Harris have completed his work, on his original plan, this amplification would have been a welcome and appropriate feature; but Death stepped in, and the researches which had employed such time as Mr. Harris could gain from his daily duties, through a period of some fifteen years, were but partly recorded by his pen. He had written out the life of Horatio Jones, down to June, 1791. About a year ago the Buffalo Historical Society purchased the unfinished manuscript, and received with it the notes, correspondence and other papers which Mr. Harris had evidently designed to utilize in completing his history. From that material, and other sources, the editor of the present volume has endeavored to complete the story.

The narrative, for the most part, is printed as Mr. Harris wrote it; but it has been found advisable to rearrange it, and to omit certain discursive chapters which, although they would have been proper in the volume that Mr. Harris hoped to make, would be out of place in a series of Publications like the present, the purpose of which is to present new historical material. A genealogical chapter is also omitted, the data being presented more compactly, at the end of the narrative. One other chapter, which dealt with the captivity of Sarah Whitmore, has been condensed, the facts of that captivity being more fully given in a separate paper written by a descendant of the fair captive of the Mohawks, who became wife to Horatio Jones.





For most readers of this volume it is probably superfluous to state that Horatio Jones was a strikingly picturesque figure in the history of Western New York during the Revolution and the pioneer years that followed. As soldier-boy he was taken prisoner by the Senecas, and compelled to run the gauntlet. He was adopted by them, and took an Indian wife. He was made a chief, and shared in the councils of the tribe. No white man ever more closely allied himself with the Senecas. He lived among them for many years, serving as interpreter on many occasions of great importance in their councils and negotiations with the United States Government and with representatives of land companies. In 1798, in grateful recognition of his services, the Senecas induced the State to cede to him a square mile of land, now embraced within the limits of Buffalo. With his fellow-prisoner, Jasper Parrish, who also received a square mile, his name has been coupled for a century, and the history of land titles and deeds in the northwest part of Buffalo has many allusions to the "Jones and Parrish tracts." Even more than to the Niagara region, the story of Horatio Jones belongs to the Genesee valley, in which he was a pioneer settler and where his dust now reposes. His career was one of great usefulness; yet, important as he was in the history of so large a region, throughout many years, one may search in vain for any adequate records of the man's career. Mr. Harris appreciated this lack in the history of Western New York, and undertook, with a considerable degree of success, to supply what was needed. He appreciated too the dramatic and picturesque quality of the subject; and while he followed his hero's course with conscientious fidelity to facts, for which he searched indefatigably, he did not fail to bring out to the full the wealth of adventure and local color which more often appertain to romance than to matter-of-fact chronicles of history.

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GEORGE H. HARRIS was a corresponding member of the Buffalo Historical Society, and at one time a resident of Buffalo. Shortly after his death, in Rochester, October 5, 1893, Mr. J. G. D'Olier prepared a memorial sketch, for the Rochester Academy of Science. From that paper the following data are drawn:

In the year 1816, there moved to Rochester from Otsego County, N. Y., a Mr. Daniel Harris. This gentleman purchased a farm which included what is now Mount Hope Cemetery, and built a log cabin in front of where Mr. Ellwanger's residence now stands. With other children he brought with him Daniel Ely Harris, a boy of three years. Young Daniel's boyhood was spent on the farm, sharing the hardships and pleasure of pioneer life.

In 1836, Daniel Harris married Miss Strickland, a relative of Agnes Strickland, author of "The Lives of the Queens of England," and a sister of General Silas A. Strickland. Of this marriage was



born George Henry Harris, the subject of our sketch, in West Greece, Monroe County, on the 29th of December, 1843.

During George Harris's early years his father was a contractor, which probably accounts for the fact that while yet a lad he had lived in Charlotte, Rochester, Hinsdale and Buffalo. His grandfather was also interested in public works and almost ruined himself on a contract to deepen a section of the Erie Canal, having to blast an immense quantity of rock not counted on. When George was a lad of twelve years his father moved with the family to Green Bay, Wisconsin, where he engaged in the lumbering business. As the boy was in delicate health the physician advised his father to take him out of school and let him run wild in the woods for a year. That year instilled in the boy a love of nature, canoe, camp and rifle that never waned while life lasted. It was always a pleasure to him to live over in memory those days, telling of the many adventures that he had with a young companion. Having regained his health he was apprenticed, at the age of fifteen, to a watchmaker. This man was a student of history, and without doubt it was largely due to his influence that the boy's taste turned to historical subjects. Three years later he came back to Rochester and entered Pierce's Military Academy. . . . As in everything he undertook he soon mastered the details of military tactics, and in 1863 he joined Company K, 54th Regiment, in which he held the rank of orderly sergeant. When his regiment was disbanded he returned to Rochester, and his health again failing, he engaged in farming for a time, after which he went to Oil City, and in the spring of 1868 to Omaha. Here, after trying farming and storekeeping, he was appointed on the night force of the postoffice. In this duty he came near ending his career in a bloody adventure with a burglar. Later he was appointed first mail clerk between Omaha and St. Joseph.

Trusting a friend to get out papers for a claim which he had taken up near Omaha, and upon which he had spent all his spare cash, he found like many another that the friend had played him false and had taken out the papers in his own name. Returning to Rochester he studied surveying and landscape gardening under Mr. Stillson at Mount Hope.

In 1872 he married Miss Julia E. Hughes, and moved to Peterborough, Canada, where he laid out and beautified the Little Lake Cemetery, which stands today a monument to his skill as a landscape gardener, being one of the most beautiful in the Dominion. Having finished his work in Peterborough he moved to Detroit, Mich., where he took charge of Elmwood Cemetery, but once more his delicate health stood in his way and he was forced to give it up. He then returned to Rochester. This was about 1877. . . . He took up the study of history, reading everything he could get relating in any way to the early settlement of the Genesee country, as well as all works bearing on the Seneca Indians. He also took long tramps following up the old Indian trails and locating their villages, looking up old settlers and gleaning from them all they could remember of pioneers and pioneer life. It was most interesting to listen to him catechise some old resident, awakening memories by some incident of long ago. Mr. Harris made friends wherever he went. His gentle nature, coupled with a rare faculty of thinking about the little things of life endeared him to his friends and companions. A striking characteristic was his capacity for details.



All his life Mr. Harris was a frequent contributor to the newspapers, and on all sorts of subjects. His best known work, that has made his name familiar to all students of our early Indian History, is "The Aboriginal Occupation of the Lower Genesee Country." The value of this work cannot be too highly estimated, containing as it does facts gathered from old residents, with whom would have perished much that is of great interest, had it not been for the untiring labors of Mr. Harris.

In Mr. Harris's terminology of the Genesee country he has left us a most valuable collection of Indian names. In tracing the Indian paths or trails that once crossed and re-crossed the Genesee valley like a network, he had a field of labor distinctively his own and that he excelled in it is witnessed by the following letter from the Honorable George S. Conover:

The Seneca Indians have long been aware of the great interest that George H. Harris of Rochester, N. Y., has manifested in resurrecting Indian history, and the energy he has exhibited in locating the sites of their former villages. On account of the remarkable success he has had in tracing out and locating the Indian paths or trails that once laced the Genesee valley, they have recognized and called him the Pathfinder. A letter lately received from Chester C. Lay, the United States interpreter for the Senecas on the Cattaraugus Reservation, says that in recognition of so eminent an Indianologist as Mr. Harris has become, it has been decided to show their appreciation by adopting him into the tribe and bestowing upon him the name of Ho-tar-shan-nyooh, meaning "he has found the path," or "the Pathfinder." As Mr. Lay is of the Wolf Clan, it necessarily follows that Mr. Harris among his Indian brethren will be recognized as a member of the Wolf Clan, the same clan to which Red Jacket belonged. This is a well-merited tribute and worthily bestowed, as Mr. Harris has been for many years a diligent and painstaking investigator of early local history, and has won for himself an enviable reputation, being an acknowledged authority on Indian antiquities of the region around Rochester and the Genesee valley.

(Signed)

HY-WE-SAUS.

GENEVA, N. Y., February, 1889.

In making researches Mr. Harris was struck by the prominent part played in the early history of Western New York by Horatio Jones, his name recurring again and again. He was a man of good family, whose early training, coupled with a fine physique and wonderful powers of endurance, eminently fitted him for the remarkable sequence of adventures through which he passed. Running away from home when a boy, to fight the Indians, he was captured, made to run the gauntlet and finally adopted by a Seneca family. Becoming master of the language and customs, he obtained the entire confidence and esteem of the Indians and figured prominently in many important treaties as interpreter. Indeed Mr. Harris found this man to be so woven into the early history of the country that he became impressed with the idea of making him the grand figure around which to group the many startling scenes of early times. . . . Before he laid down his pen forever he had brought his hero down to a point where everything of historical value had been recorded, and it only required a few closing scenes to have the work ready for publication. Mr. Harris left many other manuscripts which, when compiled, will undoubtedly be of much public interest. . . .

Mr. Harris was an honorary member of the Buffalo, Waterloo, and Livingston County Historical Societies, and an active member of the Rochester Academy of Science, the Rochester Historical Society, and the American Association for the Advancement of Science.



# THE LIFE OF HORATIO JONES.

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## I. THE CAPTURE.

In Western New York have occurred some of the most thrilling episodes of American history. The home of the fiercest of the Iroquois, it was early visited by the Jesuit and *courreur de bois*, the French explorer and invader, the scout and ranger. Among its pioneer population were men whose reckless daring furnished themes for song and story. Of the number Horatio Jones stood preëminent. His captivity, his conspicuous and picturesque career in the pioneer days of the Genesee Valley, and the region west to Lake Erie and the Niagara, his valuable services as interpreter and agent for the United States Government during its negotiations with the native owners of the soil, made him an important factor of the history of Western New York during the troublous times in which he lived. He was of Welsh ancestry, a descendant of the Rev. Malachi Jones who immigrated to America and settled at Abington, 14 miles north of Philadelphia, about 1714.\* Horatio, the subject of this sketch, was the first child of William and Elizabeth (Hunter) Jones, and was born at Downingtown, Pa., Nov., 1763. William Jones, by trade a gunsmith, was a believer in the value of physical training; consequently, Horatio received the personal instructions of his father and early led his comrades in wrestling, riding, quoits, casting the sledge and

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\* Further genealogical data will be found in a subsequent chapter, at the close of the narrative.





other sports of the period. He was especially fleet in running. Unlike his brothers and sisters, Horatio had no great love for books and acquired only the rudiments of English. The influences of a refined home and intellectual associations left marks upon his manner and speech that were not obliterated in the years passed with rude, unlettered men. During his long life his language was correct and in his intercourse with those about him his bearing was indicative of gentle breeding.

In the workshop Horatio grew proficient in the use of tools, became an excellent mechanic, and though a mere youth, was assigned the difficult task of sighting the guns brought to his father for repairs. He thus became more skillful in the handling of arms than most men of the district. This mechanical and physical training and experience in woodcraft proved of great value to him in later days, while among the savages. From the soldiers and scouts who frequented his father's shop he gleaned facts regarding the nature and customs of the Indians that aided him greatly when he became associated with them in daily life.

Bedford County, Pennsylvania, was erected from Cumberland in 1770 and included all the northwestern part of the State. At the opening of the Revolution John Piper of Yellow Creek was appointed commandant of the county with the rank of lieutenant colonel. In 1777 he raised a regiment of minute men for home service. When the first Indian forays were made in Bedford County the inhabitants adopted means of defence. In place of Fort Bedford, which had been demolished several years previously, a stout stockade called Fetler's fort was erected at Frankstown on the Juniata, and smaller forts were erected in various localities. Fetler's fort was occupied by troops and termed the Frankstown garrison. In the spring of 1781, in consequence of the frequent depredations of the Indians, a body of Cumberland County militia, variously estimated at thirty-five to seventy-five, under command of Colonel Albright and Capt. Brown, were sent to Frankstown. Instead of scouring the country to discover the enemy the soldiers remained in garrison. In-



dian outrages continued and County Lieutenant Albright advised the settlers to organize a scouting party, promising to assist them with the Bedford Rangers.

The quasi-military life in which Horatio Jones passed his boyhood fostered a natural love for adventure and he looked forward impatiently to the time when he could bear arms as a profession. In 1777 he joined one of Col. Piper's companies of minute men as fifer and served one winter in camp. In his sixteenth year he enlisted in the Bedford Rangers, performing some service as a scout. When off duty he worked in his father's shop.

About the last of May, 1781, Capt. Boyd, then commanding the rangers, ordered a company to assemble for the purpose of joining the Frankstown scouts. Indian signs were being discovered and it was thought the scouts would have to do some fighting before they returned.

To Horatio's surprise his father objected to his accompanying the rangers on this occasion. The father thought him too young and that he would furnish one more scalp for the Indians. Horatio was greatly mortified at the unexpected edict, as he thought himself the equal save in age of several men in this company. He considered the refusal of his father based upon a regard for his personal safety. To the hot-headed youth it seemed cowardly to remain behind, when others were going into peril for the protection of his home. He thought it improbable that his father would recall him if he were fairly started. When the battle was over and he returned, public sentiment would approve his act. He decided to join the outgoing company and face parental displeasure.

A word now as to existing conditions in Western New York, with which our hero is soon to be concerned.

The "door of the long-house," or most western town of the Senecas prior to the Revolution, was located upon the present (1893) farm of Alonzo A. Arnold, in the town of Caneadea, on the east bank of the Genesee, some thirty miles above Little Beard's Town. The locative title of the place was Gah-ne-ya-de-o, "where the heavens rest or lean upon the earth," since corrupted to Caneadea. The heredit-



ary military sachem of the Iroquois league, Do-ne-ho-gaweh, or "open door," had his residence there. The person bearing this title at the beginning of the Revolution was an aged man, who had in his early manhood taken the name of a white friend, Hutson, commonly called Hudson. It was a habit among the whites when they could not easily pronounce the Indian name of a chief to call him John; hence John Hudson, John Blacksmith, John Luke, John Abeel, Johnny John and a score of others. They in time lost their native designations. After this Seneca sachem became known as a military leader he was called Capt. Hudson. It is said he knew every hill and valley and stream of the section of New York and Pennsylvania lying between the Senecas on the Genesee and Alleghany, and the settlements of the whites on the Susquehanna in the same states. About 1770 Hudson's eldest son sickened and died and the second son of the sachem became the eldest of the family. He was known as Hah-yen-de-seh, "Dragging Wood," or "Hemlock Carrier." In the first campaigns of the Revolution he won rank as a chieftain of note. It is now impossible to distinguish the deeds of the old sachem from those of his son in the early years of the war.

The second chief at Canadea in 1779 was Gah-nee-songo, "Man fond of berries." He and Hah-yen-de-seh had been friends from childhood, inseparable companions in peace and war, won their honors together and now ranked equally as chiefs. Gah-ne-songo was a dignified man of powerful frame and great strength. The British officers with whom he often associated, abbreviated his name to Shongo and after the Revolution he was termed Col. Shongo.\*

Among the British adherents at Fort Niagara was a Capt. Nelles. In the same company with him was Lieut. Robert Nelles, his son. Early in the spring of 1781 Col. Butler ordered Nelles with his company to the Genesee. Marching to Gah-an-o-deo he procured a log house, took an Indian wife and set up housekeeping in primitive style. Not caring for the fatigue and discomforts of a forest march

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\* His descendants now reside on the Cattaraugus Reservation, and in Buffalo.



at that season of the year, Capt. Nelles placed a platoon of men under the command of his son and rallied the Indians under the lieutenant in an expedition to Pennsylvania to cut off bodies of continental troops passing between the Susquehanna and Ohio rivers. Hey-en-de-seh had changed his residence to a town afterwards known as Ah-wes-coy, on the west side of the Genesee, about seven miles below Canadea. The latter name was also applied to the valley lying between the two villages. In later days Shongo told a Mr. Baker that John Hudson and himself were the leaders of the expedition. As it was organized at the lower town the one to whom Shongo referred was probably Hah-yen-de-seh, though old Captain Hudson accompanied and guided the party.

While preparations for the expedition were in progress one family of Senecas residing at Ah-wes-coy viewed them with sorrow. In a previous foray upon a settlement of whites the members of this family had lost a son and brother, a promising young brave named To-an-do-qua. The season of mourning had nearly passed, yet the mother refused to be reconciled. The stir and confusion in the town reminded her of that other time when her brave son marched proudly away into the forest never to return. She reflected upon the probable results of the contemplated expedition and became inspired with the idea of averting, in a degree, the horrors of warfare by securing the capture, instead of the killing, of some innocent youth. With this thought in mind the woman approached a chief named Do-eh-saw\* who resided at Deonundagao. Though in outward appearance an Indian, the chief was really a half-breed son of a white trader, and was generally known as Jack Berry. He was a powerful man, though not above medium height, swift on foot, brave and in the forefront of any conflict in which he engaged; yet he was kind-hearted and the Seneca mother knew he had been a good friend to her boy. To this man the woman made a request, that, from the sol-

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\* The word signifies one who propels, pushes, himself or makes either progress or resistance like a sturdy or obstinate animal; the idea being strength and courage as manifested in a beast of burden, like a mule.





diers the Indians were going to attack, he would bring her the youngest captive they might take, to replace the lost To-an-do-qua. As a sign of her commission to him and of her right to the prisoner, she gave Do-eh-saw a belt of wampum bearing her clan totem and family mark. The chief accepted the belt and promised to consider her request.

When the British-Indian expedition left the Genesee, it consisted of Lieut. Nelles commanding, his platoon of rangers, nearly a hundred warriors and some squaws. They crossed the Genesee early in May, took the Niagara trail southward through Chautauqua valley, crossed over to the Canisteo, down that stream to the Tioga, thence by Pine Creek (Ti-a-dagh-ton) to the west branch of the Susquehanna (Ot-zin-ach-son), marched through forest trails, and established their camp about a two days' journey from Bedford. It was a custom of the Indians to form such a camp as a base of operations, where they left the women and baggage, the warriors going and coming as they pleased.

From the reserved camp the warriors advanced to the Juniata intending to attack some of the forts, or to cut off troops on the march. It appears that Shongo led a band some distance down the Juniata, but learning of the number of soldiers at Frankstown fort, he proceeded up the river and joined Hudson, who had formed a temporary camp at a place called Hart's Log. Thence they sent out runners to watch the garrison. These spies saw white scouts in the vicinity and notified the chiefs, who hastily called a council. They decided to form an ambuscade at a favorable place on the river, so the war-party retreated into the forest to await the coming night.

The white scouts discovered the camp, found it recently abandoned and hurried to Frankstown to give the alarm. The Indians permitted their safe return, hoping, by so doing, to secure a larger number of victims at a later hour. The place selected for ambush was near a ford of the river not far from the fort. The location seemed to afford little opportunity for the concealment of a body of men, but the



Iroquois were adepts in forest stratagem and laid their plans with skill.

June 2d the scouting party assembled at Holliday's fort, a mile or so below Fetler's. This fort had been built for a stable but was a strong building and had been loop-holed for a garrison or to serve as a place of refuge. Instead of a full company of rangers there were Capt. Boyd, Lieutenant Woods, and eight men; the volunteers numbering twenty-three or four men, including several of the most experienced woodsmen and Indian fighters of the Alleghany frontier. The personnel of the company was about as follows: Capt. John Boyd, the eldest of three brothers—William fell at the battle of the Brandywine and Thomas was horribly tortured and killed at the Genesee Castle in 1779; Lieutenant Harry Woods, a son of the George Woods of Bedford, released from Fort Du Quesne in 1756 through Chief Hudson; Capt. Moore, one of the famous Moore family of Scotch Valley; he with Lieutenant Smith had recruited nearly all the volunteers; Capt. Dunlap, a militia officer then off regular duty; Lieut. John Cook, a relative of the Col. Wm. Cook of Northumberland County, under whom Moses Van Campen first served.

These men were versed in Indian warfare, of tried courage and patriotism. Among the men in the ranks were William and Adam Holliday; James Summerville, son-in-law of Adam Holliday; Thomas and Michael Coleman; a George Jones and brother; Michael Wallack; Edward Milligan; William and John McDonald; Ross; Ricketts; Beatty; Gray; Johnson, and Horatio Jones. Whether the Jones brothers were relatives of Horatio or not is not known.

The Americans wore the dress of the frontiersmen of that time: A cap, hunting-shirt or frock, breeches or leggins, and moccasins. The frock was gathered at the waist by a belt tied in the back. Bullet-pouch, wadding and other small articles were carried in the frock above the belt, from which were suspended a tomahawk and hunting-knife. The moccasins were of dressed deer skins made with flaps reaching to the shin, and secured by long strings bound around the



ankles and legs. Each man was also armed with a rifle and its equipments.

These men set out for Fetler's where they planned to spend the following day, Sunday, thence to march through the Kitanning Gap to a road that led to Pittsburg, and home by way of Bedford. While completing their arrangements to leave Fetler's the two scouts came in and reported the discovery of the Indian camp at Hart's Log, saying the savages probably numbered twenty-five or thirty, the fires were still burning and the enemy doubtless near at hand. A fight was probable and the scouts were eager for the fray. The officers felt sure the savages would not venture into the settlement until the following day and thought best to march out and meet the invaders near the mouth of the gap. They tendered the command to Colonel Albright and asked him to permit some of his men, who were anxious to go, to accompany them. The Colonel refused both requests, not allowing his men to leave the fort.

Just before daylight Sunday morning they ate breakfast, took five days' provisions, loaded their rifles and started for the mountains. A narrow path ran close along the river; the men marched in single file, with Capt. Boyd at their head, in command. A thick fog rendered even near objects invisible. The scouts deemed this condition a favorable one as it would conceal them from observation. The obscurity covered all traces of the ambushade as well. When the company reached the flat within thirty rods of Sugar Run, the British and Indians poured a murderous volley into the single line of scouts and, springing up with tomahawks in hand, awoke the echoes of the wilderness with appalling yells. The surprise was complete. A number fell, several fled without discharging their guns, but Capt. Boyd, Lieut. Cook and a few other veteran fighters bravely held their ground, raised a yell and returned fire, killing some of the savages.

Seeing they were greatly outnumbered, Boyd ordered his gallant men to save themselves. They at once scattered. As Boyd turned to run the Indians pursued. They struck him several times with their tomahawks before he surren-



dered. Lieut. Cook was a powerful man and swift runner, but the four warriors who pursued him threw their weapons and knocked him down, when he was promptly secured.

Capt. Dunlap, Ross and the two McDonalds who were in Boyd's company, were seized upon the battle ground. Lieut. Woods discharged his rifle and with Wallack and Summer-ville crossed the river, running up what was later known as O'Friel's Ridge, pursued by Hay-en-de-seh, who calculated either to kill or capture the three men. Summer-ville's moccasin became loose and as he stooped to fix it the chief approached with uplifted tomahawk. Woods aimed his empty rifle at the Indian who sheltered himself behind a tree, but quickly recognizing the officer shouted out, "No hurt you Woods! No hurt you Woods!" exposing himself to view. Woods, seeing that he was the son of the Seneca chief who had saved his father from torture in 1756, and had often visited at the senior Woods' in Bedford, dropped his gun. Hudson made no further demonstration of hostility and allowed the other two rangers to escape over the ridge. One of the Jones brothers was the first to reach the fort with news of the disaster. Capt. Young started out with help to bring in the wounded. The other Jones brother had been killed and scalped. Five wounded men were found as well as the mutilated bodies of nearly half the company.

When the first volley was fired Horatio was marching proudly along in line. Deafened by the firing and half blinded by the smoke, he was caught in the sudden rush of those who fled and carried to the middle of the river. The rattle of musketry, the yells of the savages, the shrieks of the wounded filled the air. Forgetting his visions of bravery he sprang up the bank and ran straight away from the scene of action. Suddenly two Indians appeared before him with leveled guns; in presence of more immediate danger his scattered senses began to return, and while he changed his direction he wondered if this were indeed his last moment. He glanced over his shoulder and saw the Indians in hot pursuit. Seeing that he had gained upon them and encouraged by a hope of escape he turned about.





raised his rifle to his shoulder, took aim at the foremost pursuer and pulled the trigger. It missed fire and to his dismay he discovered that the priming had been wet in the river and that the weapon was useless; but when he raised his rifle the Indians had dropped to the ground to disconcert his aim and thus had not discovered the condition of his gun.

Comprehending that his escape now depended upon his fleetness alone, Horatio closed the rifle pan, renewed his flight, crossed the valley and began to ascend the hill. Just then, the long string of one of his moccasins becoming loose, it began snapping about his legs, impeding his progress. The fog was clearing up; he thought he heard some one call him. Looking back again he saw the foremost warrior raise his hand and heard him shout in plain English, "Stop boy, stop!" At that instant the vexatious moccasin string caught in a shrub throwing him heavily to the ground. Though stunned by the shock he retained his senses and hastily attempted to rise. Finding his foot fastened he made a violent effort to free himself, rolled over and sat up. As the pursuers came up, gun in hand, it was evident to him that any further effort to escape would result in being shot. He decided to sit still. As the Indians approached, Horatio looked steadily at them to discover some intimation of their intentions, and if necessary, make a desperate effort at defence. The mild manner of the leading warrior dissipated his fears and he made no show of resistance. The Indian halted within a few feet of him, dropped the butt of his rifle to the ground, leaned upon the muzzle, looked smilingly down at the young ranger and addressed him pleasantly:

"No be scart, me no hurt you; you berry nice boy; you run like deer; you make fine Indian boy; me good friend; me help you." Stooping over he released the strings, fastened the moccasin, placed his hand on Horatio's shoulder and said quietly but authoritatively "Dis-dot" ("get up"). Notwithstanding the smiling face, the sharp eyes watched every motion of the captive with keen interest, and as the latter stood up submissively the warrior took from his own person a belt of wampum and placed it around Horatio's



neck. Picking up the rifle he removed the flint, threw out the wet powder, handed the weapon to the boy and, still smiling, extended his hand saying, "Go with me." Re-assured, Horatio suffered his captors to lead him back to a spot near the point from which he first started to escape. Then the two Indians took away his weapons, bound a blanket about his legs so that he could move only at a slow walk, and left him in the company of some of his late comrades, who were huddled together under the care of five or six young warriors.

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## II. THE MARCH.

Horatio now had the opportunity to look about; he carefully noted every particular of his surroundings. The conflict was over and singly and in groups the Indians were returning from the pursuit of the fleeing Americans, bringing in two or three more captives. Near by lay the bodies of several rangers and warriors. As the boy stood staring at the inanimate forms, trying to realize what had happened, the savages set to work scalping the dead soldiers. The mutilated bodies of the whites were stripped and left upon the ground, while the greatest efforts were made to conceal the remains of the warriors. The arms and other effects of the dead men were gathered and placed in heaps; the most important trophies of the fight were nine scalps exultantly flaunted before the shrinking captives. During this time the British and Indians scrutinized the prisoners to see if any of them could be identified. The general interest soon centered upon Horatio Jones, at whom the savages stared with undisguised curiosity. He was a perfect specimen of vigorous, healthful youth, with light complexion, ruddy cheeks, grey eyes and hair tending to auburn, a color greatly admired by the black-haired savages. "Hoc-sa-ah hoc-sa-go-wah" ("the boy is very handsome"), they said; but the object of their admiration did not understand their remarks, and his fears were excited by these attentions which



ceased only when the warriors gathered in a group to talk over the situation.

The prisoners now exchanged a few words of condolence and expressed to each other the belief that their comrades who had escaped would soon return with a large party to rescue them. Their hopes were not to be realized. That the soldiers had marched out to attack them convinced the leaders of the war party that Fort Fetter was strongly garrisoned, and that a larger party of troops would speedily be sent out to avenge the defeat of the rangers. A number had been killed and they were now encumbered with prisoners and plunder. They decided to retreat. The plunder was tied in large packages and fastened on the shoulders of the captives, who were placed in the middle of the party, and the band immediately took the back trail into the wilderness.

The prisoners included Capts. Boyd and Dunlap, Lieutenant Cook, the two McDonalds, Ross, Johnson and Horatio Jones, the last being the youngest of the party, though others were quite young. Each captive had a blanket bound about his legs to prevent an attempt to escape; the grass was still wet with dew, the blankets became saturated and obstructed the movements of the men to such a degree that they were removed.

After marching at a rapid rate for several hours, Capt. Dunlap, who was severely wounded, showed signs of exhaustion. Blows failed to keep him in pace with the warriors; at last he was so weak that he staggered under his load. Without the slightest warning a painted savage stepped behind the wounded man, buried a tomahawk deep in his neck and jerked him over backwards. As the officer fell, the wretch stripped off his scalp and left him quivering in the agonies of death. Dunlap's fate was a frightful warning to his companions of what they themselves might expect. They dare not exhibit the slightest resentment of the deed, and the stern commands of their masters, together with blows from the tomahawk handles, hastened them onward. In the afternoon a runner was sent ahead to notify



the reserve camp of the return party and to hasten their preparations for a speedy departure.

They reached the camp in the evening. They knew that the white scouts could trace their party to camp, and fearing a large force would attack them, they halted only long enough to allow the squaws to finish packing, when the entire band moved on. Years later Horatio Jones would recall the horrors of that night's march. Some of the captives had had no sleep the previous night, and all had marched at a rapid rate many hours without food. Borne down by heavy burdens, urged along by cruel savages, faint, fearful that each moment might be their last, they stumbled forward in the darkness. After many hours' travel in the dense gloom, the leaders called a halt. Warriors and captives alike threw themselves upon the ground too weary to think of aught but rest; they sank into uneasy slumber.

At daylight they rose from the damp earth and resumed their journey. Although they had then reached a point beyond the probable danger of being overtaken by a pursuing force, they were still within range of scouting parties sent out from stations along the West Branch and liable any moment to an attack; hence they preserved strictest silence and moved with caution. All that day the party hastened through the shadows of the forest, spending another miserable night on the ground without shelter, fire or food. The third day even the Indians were visibly suffering. No hunting was allowed, not a gun having been discharged since the battle. The third afternoon a bear was discovered and to prevent starvation a warrior fired at and killed it. The band halted and gathered about the carcass, which was soon cut in pieces and distributed. The prisoners received as their portion the entrails and a small quantity of flesh, which was devoured raw; the long fast had destroyed all sense of taste.

Not long after this the company crossed the Susquehanna and camped for the night in a secluded spot near the Sinnemahoning Creek. Scouts sent out to scour the neighborhood returned with a fair supply of meat and the information that no sign of the enemy could be discovered.





The food and a prospect of a night's rest would have made the prisoners comparatively happy but for the uncertainty regarding their future. Knowing Indian customs, they had reason to believe that they were driven alive through the wilderness only to suffer torture at the stake. Their fears were but too speedily realized.\* Capt. Boyd, faint from the loss of blood, was tied to an oak sapling and compelled to be a spectator of the torture of Ross. It was his turn next and he quietly resigned himself to his fate. While these fiends were making preparations to torture him, he sang a pathetic Free-Masons' song with a plaintive voice that attracted their attention; they listened to it very closely till he was through.

At this critical moment an elderly squaw came up and claimed him for her son. The Indians did not interfere. She dressed his wounds and attended him carefully through the remainder of the journey. "Lieutenant Cook's captors amused themselves by burning his legs with fire brands and as he was exhausted from the loss of blood from his wounds he was scarcely able to walk."†

On leaving Sinnemahoning Creek the Indians thought themselves so safe that they began to relax in vigilance, were not so careful about making a noise, and permitted their prisoners greater liberty of action; they also sent out hunting parties, without however much success, for the frequent passage of war parties had driven most of the larger game away from the trails. In the afternoon the hunters joined the main body on the march. They had succeeded in killing a deer and as the place where they met was a convenient one in which to camp, there being plenty of water and wood, they were soon busy with their preparations for supper and the night. The captives were all so bound that they could not travel faster than a walk nor use

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\* "Ross was very badly wounded," says J. F. Meginness in his history of the West Branch of the Susquehanna called "Otzinachson," "and being unable to travel, his captors determined to massacre him in a cruel manner. He was fastened to a stake, his body stuck full of pitch pine splinters and fire applied. They danced around him making the woods resound with their hideous yells. His tortures were terrible but at length death put an end to his sufferings."

† Meginness.



their hands to relieve themselves of their burdens. Their assistance being needed in making camp, their bonds were loosened and their packs taken off. Some of the young Indians were ordered to prepare the deer and bring in the venison and Jones was told to go with them. Cheered by a measure of freedom and with the prospect of a supper and willing to show his good will in the matter, he pushed to the front where he found himself by the side of a savage, who, by general assent seemed to be the leader of the party. This warrior was small and lean with short bowed legs. His profile reminded Horatio of a reaping-hook sharpened on the outer edge, but he was wiry and as he moved along there was evidence of muscular power that suggested unusual strength. In fact, in spite of his appearance, he was the fleetest runner among the Senecas, and had been employed as messenger by the officers at Fort Niagara, who jestingly said he ran so swiftly his shins cut the air. He thus became known to the whites as Sharp Shins.\*

Up to this time Sharp Shins had never been beaten on foot and the Indians had no fear that the captive could escape while the famous runner bore him company; but Horatio had no knowledge of the powers of his companion and no other thought than a desire to obtain a supper of meat as speedily as possible. The party set off at a smart run and the white boy quickly took the lead; becoming aware that the captive was in advance Sharp Shins gave a shrill yell drawing the attention of the entire party, and darted forward. Horatio had taken a dislike to the runner and determined not to let him have the satisfaction of winning in the race. Putting forth all his energies he increased the distance between himself and the Indians and reached the carcass of the deer several feet in advance of Sharp Shins. When the attention of the warriors was called to the race by the yell of the runner they shouted their approval, but as the captive gained in the lead it occurred to them that he was attempting to escape and nearly the entire band joined in pursuit. As soon as Horatio halted beside the deer he was surrounded by the excited warriors

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\* His Seneca name was Ha-ah-ta-o, "He climbs."



who whirled their tomahawks about his head to the consternation of his fellow-prisoners who expected to see him butchered on the spot. Appreciating the gravity of the situation he folded his arms and stood like a statue in the center of a circle of whooping savages. Some one called out in the Indian tongue that the boy was not trying to escape and that he should be praised and not hurt as he had beaten their swiftest runner in a fair race. Satisfied that this was the case the mood of the warriors instantly changed and their demonstrations of delight were unrestrained. Yelling with glee they cut ridiculous capers and cried out, "Hoc-sa-go-wah ha-yah-no-weh; sa-qart-neh-ga-ha"; ("The handsome boy is a fast runner; he runs like the wind"). Then as if by a common impulse they desired to attest his victory over their comrade they repeated the phrase "Ha-yah-no-weh, ha-yah-no-weh"; ("He is a fast runner; he is a fast runner"). Sharp Shins, amazed at his defeat stood sullenly aside. When his fellow warriors continued to taunt him his rage was beyond control and drawing his tomahawk he rushed furiously at Horatio and attempted to strike him down. The others promptly interposed and Do-eh-saw claiming the captive lad as his personal property, dared the defeated runner to injure him at his peril.

The speed which had been exhibited by Horatio on two occasions convinced them he could distance their fastest runners in a fair race, and they determined to disable him from making a third display of his prowess. They seized him, dragged him roughly back to camp, laid him upon his back, stretched out his legs and arms, tied each with thongs to a separate tree, pinned the thongs closely to the earth with crotched sticks, then drove stakes crosswise over his arms, legs and body. Satisfied that the boy could not move the Indians turned their attention to the carcass of the deer, which was hastily skinned. As before, they gave the intestines to the prisoners, but on dividing the meat a fair portion was allotted each captive except Horatio. At sunset rain set in and fell steadily through the night upon the motionless form of the young ranger,



chilling him through. If an occasional thought of the comfortable home and loving family he had left obtruded itself it was quickly crowded out of his mind by the pains of intense hunger. He could smell the burning flesh as great pieces were thrown upon the hot coals to roast, but the savages did not give him a mouthful. The savory scent tantalized his senses during the long hours of that miserable night. Our frontier boy knew that his existence and future comfort depended entirely upon his fortitude and endurance. He lay without complaint until the dawn of day aroused the camp and the expedition was ready to resume the march. His apparent indifference to his physical sufferings and his manifest good humor when released had their effect upon the warriors. They seemed to think they had been too severe with him and in some measure to atone for their unnecessary cruelty they gave him a substantial breakfast of venison and permitted him to dry his clothes and warm himself by the fire. Upon resuming the march they permitted him to walk unbound, and by and by relieved him of his pack. Horatio was satisfied he owed these indulgences to his captor Do-eh-saw and determined to show his gratitude in every way he could. During the day he kept close to him and sought to win his confidence.

In order to secure captives at night the Indians usually made a rude sort of stocks by cutting down a tree and hacking notches a few inches in depth along the fallen trunk. Prisoners were then compelled to place their ankles in the notches. A pole was put on the tree trunk above them and fastened down tight with cross stakes driven into the ground. A second and heavier pole was laid in the V formed by the cross sticks. In addition a cord was passed over the bodies of the victims and under several Indians at each end. Horatio was left unbound that night when the other prisoners were secured.

He crept closely to Do-eh-saw and encouraged by a friendly smile lay quietly down by him. Thereafter he slept always by that warrior's side. He began to look upon Do-eh-saw as a trusty friend and protector. He soon became convinced that as long as he kept up with the rest in the





march and made no effort to escape he had little reason to fear immediate danger from the party. From the hour he was relieved of his own pack he helped Johnson, who was over sixty years of age, with his, and frequently availed himself of his own freedom of action to assist other comrades less able than himself to endure fatigue.

From the Sinnemahoning Creek the war-party crossed the country to the Tioga River and followed that stream to the mouth of the Cohocton, on their homeward journey. Here they decided to halt for a few days' rest. The camping place was known as *Da-ne-ne-ta-quen-deh*, "where two valleys come together."\* Here several principal Indian trails crossed and it was frequented by Indians journeying east, west, north and south. Several wigwams were located near the river and there were many cultivated fields about. A huge post painted in a fantastic manner to represent an enemy stood in the open. When war parties halted at the camp they usually held brag dances about the post. Any one could brag and dance after making a small present to the "master of ceremonies," usually the head warrior. The proceeds were a benefit for the whole party.

After their arrival the Genesee warriors proposed to hold a dance on the second evening. Large fires were started, to give light, and Indians, British and prisoners, gathered in a great circle about the post. Most of the audience sat or lay on the ground smoking pipes, some Indians on one side beating a small drum and shaking rattles, occasionally accompanying the instruments with monotonous vocal exercises which were anything but inspiring to the white prisoners. The dancer advanced to the post, pranced about it, and addressed it as though the thing were a real enemy. Recounting in a loud voice the history of his personal achievements, the braggart danced or rather mimicked the motions of the act described, derided his imaginary foe in

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\* This was a descriptive term applied to other similar localities and had no local significance with Painted Post. It was also applied to the present location of Bath, and Dr. Lewis H. Morgan renders it "*Do-na-ta-ta gwen-da*," "Opening in an opening." Horatio Jones narrated these facts about Painted Post to Orlando Allen. The first white settlers found the post and named the place Painted Post, now Erwin, Steuben Co., N. Y.



unmeasured terms, then striking the post with his tomahawk retired amid loud applause. When the scenes of the Juniata Valley were rehearsed by the savage participants and the scalps of the murdered rangers were paraded before the survivors, all their courage was needed to prevent an outbreak of their rage. Prudence forbade any show of feeling, and hiding their resentment they sat quietly among the crowd of Indians and British until the hateful ceremonies ended.

From the hour of his capture Horatio had worn the belt of wampum placed about his neck by his captor, who had cautioned him not to lose it nor permit any person to remove it. He perceived that he was treated more leniently than his comrades were and could not but think that the belt of wampum was in some way connected with the preference. Do-eh-saw understood and could speak the English language fairly well but he was taciturn with Jones; however he was good-natured and frankly answered questions. As time passed on and the young protégé grew in favor the Indian became somewhat communicative. While the war-party lay at the painted post, Horatio ventured to ask for an explanation from the chief. Do-eh-saw told him that an Indian mother had sent out the belt to secure for herself from among the prisoners taken the youngest to be a son to her in place of her own boy, lost in a recent foray, and accordingly he was to be given to the woman after they reached the Seneca village; that his interest in Horatio was accepted by the warriors and that they all looked upon the young captive as one of their own people; hence he need have no fear of being ill-treated upon the journey. But Do-eh-saw also told him that it was the custom of the Indians to "caress" all captives brought to their villages; in other words the inhabitants vented their spite by beating the prisoners and many times taking their lives. This was a rule and no male prisoner was exempt, as it afforded those who had been left at home a chance to vent their vindictiveness upon their enemies. Even if his captor adopted him he could not save him from the perils of the gauntlet as it was considered a test of the victim's courage and endurance.



When the war-party should reach the home village all the captives were alike to be subjected to the trial; if Horatio lived through it his future was assured.

From the "painted post" the band followed up the Canisteo valley, through the Chautauqua valley,\* along the main Niagara trail to the vicinity of what is now known as Hunt's Hollow, Livingston Co., New York. Here, leaving the Niagara trail, they turned to the south and descended the hillside to the bottom of a deep valley where a swift stream flowed over the rocks. "Kish-a-wah," Do-eh-saw answered when Horatio asked him the name of the creek. Crossing the stream, they camped on the southern bank near the ground now known as Hunt's Hollow. A spring of excellent water flowed from the hillside and there were many indications that the spot had long been a favorite resort of the Indians. The prisoners had now become familiar with their captors and while the vigilance of the latter was unrelaxed they were friendly enough and shared with their captives their scanty provisions. The prisoners collected sticks and brush for the camp fires and as the shadows of evening deepened in the valley many of the men gathered in groups. Horatio was seated by Do-eh-saw, who was smoking his pipe near a fire, when he noticed that the warrior was more than usually grave: he soon found out that he was concerned about his young protégé. He told the boy that on the morrow they would reach the Genesee. He described to Horatio the manner of the prisoners' reception and charged him to keep as close to him as he could and strictly to follow whatever orders he might give him; if so, perhaps some of the horrors of running the gauntlet might be avoided. So saying the kindly Indian stretched himself upon the ground to sleep and Horatio lay by his side, thinking of the approaching day and what his fate might be.

When the sun rose on the morning of June 20th upon the valley of the Kishawa the camp was aroused by the sentries posted by Lieut. Nelles. The soldiers brightened their firearms and the warriors adorned their persons in the finery they had captured, painted their faces and displayed

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\* In the northeastern corner of Allegany county.



upon their lances the captured scalps. A small body of Indians led the way up the hillside, the rangers marching next. Then came the prisoners, followed by the main body of the savage party. After passing over comparatively level ground, the trail led down a steep slope through a broad hollow and struck a small brook, followed down its course, sometimes along the edge of the water which it occasionally crossed, the passage growing narrower and the pathway steeper as they went on. The ravine was densely wooded, and gloomy, and the hearts of the captives were oppressed by forebodings. Constantly descending, it seemed to them an endless path before they came to a break in the foliage, emerged from the dense shadows, and stood in the bright sunlight upon the bank of the Genesee. The river swept around the foot of the hill down which they had come, and was in sight for a short distance only, but the captives saw stretched before them a great valley enclosed by densely wooded slopes. Turning to the left the party followed the trail along the foot of the slope forming the east side of the valley, and within an hour halted upon the river opposite to the home village of these Senecas.

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### III. THE GAUNTLET.

In an open space several acres in extent a few bark huts, ordinary houses, and a large building of hewn logs were visible. This last stood by itself upon an elevation a quarter of a mile away. It was well made after the style of the better class of frontier buildings; it had been put up by English carpenters from Niagara. A white flag was flying from a staff on the roof, marking it as the "long house" or council house of the village.

The warriors gathered in a compact body and uttered a series of yells to announce their arrival, the losses the party had sustained and the number of captives and scalps they had brought home. The echoes had scarcely ceased reverberating along the hills, when men, women and children armed with tomahawks, clubs, knives, whips and other





weapons came running from all directions of the town, forming two disorderly lines extending from the council house down nearly to the river opposite to the place where the war party stood. While these movements were in progress the prisoners stood in the midst of their grim captors watching the proceedings, and as they saw the extent and nature of the preparations for their reception their hopes died within them. It seemed impossible that anyone should escape death or mortal injuries while attempting to run through those formidable lines of savages, who had all lost friends in encounters with the whites and many of whom had undoubtedly been bereft of near relatives in this very expedition and were exasperated to the height of fury.\* Before giving the order to cross the river Lieut. Nelles addressed the prisoners, saying he thought it right to tell them that immediately after reaching the opposite side, when the word should be given, they were to run for their lives and endeavor to reach the house on the hill where the white flag was waving. According to Indian usage any person in the lines of people they saw had a right to strike, wound or kill them and they could expect no mercy before they succeeded in getting into it; once there they would be safe until the council decided their fate.

Crossing the stream, fordable at that point, with the prisoners in the van, the party ascended the bank. On reaching the level ground the signal was given. Boyd and William McDonald, hoping to gain some slight advantage by a sudden start, instantly bounded forward and were at once followed by all the other captives except Horatio. Their appearance was greeted by a chorus of yells and shrieks as the mob of young men, women and children rushed forward like wild beasts, each one frantically struggling to strike a blow at the victims.

Do-eh-saw had been standing in the front rank of the war-party with Horatio by his side. As the other prisoners started he moved in front of Horatio, concealing him until the attention of the mob was entirely occupied with the other captives who had made considerable headway, when

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\* Orlando Allen's narrative.



he suddenly stepped aside, gave Horatio a push and said, "Run, boy, run!" Horatio nerved himself for the trial. Seeing the advantage of this slight delay and confident of his fleetness he put forth his greatest energies. The attention of the Indians nearest him was so engrossed by what was going on ahead that Jones fled past them unobserved until he had nearly overtaken the party in advance, when the Indians began to aim their blows at him. These he avoided as best he could by dodging from side to side and passing some of the captives, when he found himself near Boyd, McDonald and Johnson, all of whom had reached the "long house" slightly in advance of himself. The men had been roughly handled and were bleeding from many wounds, but according to Indian usage were entitled to free entrance to the council house and immunity from further abuse. Three or four ferocious young Indians were huddled about the door with uplifted weapons, and, despite the warning cries from the older warriors attacked the three white men. The leader, a young savage named the Wolf, was armed with a sword. As Johnson came up the savage struck him a frightful blow with the sword taking off the top of his head. Horatio was so near the victim that brains were dashed over his face and breast. The young demon slashed and hacked again and again at Johnson's body. Fear for himself gave place in Horatio's bosom to rage at the cowardly murder and he paused to avenge him, but the comrades of the Wolf, beginning to attack the rest of the prisoners who were struggling in the doorway, he turned suddenly to one side and came face to face with Sharp Shins, who stood with raised tomahawk ready to cleave his skull.

From the time of his defeat in the race for the deer Sharp Shins had avoided the fleet-footed young ranger, biding his time to avenge his defeat. He had been sent in advance to announce the home-coming of the party, and had stationed himself in line near the council house, not doubting that Horatio would succeed in reaching that goal, where he could be sure of the chance to tomahawk him. The sudden turn made by his intended victim disconcerted him and he hesitated to strike. Before the revengeful savage could



rally Horatio had dashed through a break in the mob; with a howl of rage Sharp Shins hurled his axe at the fleeing form. To the day of his death Horatio Jones never recalled, without a shudder, the sound produced by the whirling tomahawk as it passed close to his head and buried itself in the earth. Whether he was indebted for his escape to his own skill in dodging the missile or to the haste of the thrower he never knew.

With the idea prominent in his mind that he must obtain entrance to the council house, he instinctively turned towards the building and dodged around the corner. The wall of the building was unbroken by door or window. A path leading into a thicket close at hand opened before him. With a bound he was in the bush and out of sight of the struggling mob. Pursuing the path with all his speed he quickly emerged from the thicket into a clearing where he discovered, only a few feet in advance, a rude house, past the door of which the path led.

On arrival of the runner with the news of the returning expedition the Seneca mother, who had commissioned Berry to bring her a son, being unwilling to witness the cruelties of the gauntlet, remained in her home with her daughter, while the male members of the family joined in the frightful ceremonies. From their house in the woods the women heard the whoops announcing the arrival of the war-party. As the dreadful race began they could distinguish the sounds of turmoil and the approach towards the long house. Standing at the opening serving as a window to their humble home, they listened closely to note the first indication that the captives had passed the ordeal. Suddenly the bushes growing along the path leading to the long house were agitated as by the passage of one in haste, and a boy, dazed by fright, dashed into the opening. Was it Providence that warmed the heart of his captor, assisted the lad to escape the perils of the gauntlet and led his footsteps to the only habitation in all that wilderness in which he could escape death? Was it instinct that directed the attention of the Indian woman to the wampum belt on the breast of the terrified young runner, or an over-ruling Providence? At



a glance she recognized the token she had sent forth to the settlements of the whites. With a cry to the daughter the woman ran out of the doorway as the boy came near. Before he could fully realize the occurrence the women caught him in their arms, pushed him into the house, secreted him under a bench of poles that ran around the side of the house, and placed blankets in front which concealed him from view, then calmly resumed their station at the window. The panting fugitive had scarcely had time to reflect that the action of the squaws indicated a desire on their part to befriend him, when he heard footsteps approach and excited voices at the door, some reply in the native tongue from the elder woman and footsteps receding, apparently in an opposite direction from that from which they came. Hardly had these sounds ceased when the squaw drew the covering aside and called the boy forth. He rolled out of his close quarters and stood before them ready to obey their commands. The women placed themselves in front of him, drew their blankets around all three in such a manner as to conceal him from observation and stepped out of the door.

Jones was so confounded by the rapidity of events that he felt impelled to place confidence in his strange friends, and closely followed their hurried lead, he knew not whither. He could hear the soft pat of their moccasined feet upon the hard ground, the rustle of branches as they passed through obstructing brush, the murmur of voices and the tramp of men about him; he could feel the sway of his guides as they pushed through a crowd of people, and he fancied the beating of his heart would betray him. Then he felt an inclination to throw off the sheltering folds that held him in darkness and face death openly.

Suddenly the grip upon his arms tightened, he was jerked forward, then stopped so sharply that but for the restraining hands of the women he would have fallen. The blankets dropped to the ground. Horatio perceived he was in a large room, filled with Indians who surrounded some of his fellow captives covered with blood from numerous wounds. Instinct told him that he was in "the long house" and the perils of the gauntlet were ended.





The women who had rescued him could not speak English, but their intelligent faces bore expressions of proud satisfaction as they resumed their blankets and walked away leaving the boy with his white friends. He soon learned that the latter were in a pitiable plight, and that of all who braved the mob he alone had escaped without serious bruises. A guard was soon stationed at the door of the long house, which was made to serve as a prison. Food was given the prisoners and they were allowed to seek such rest as their wretched condition would permit.

A quantity of liquor having been brought from Niagara, it was decided to celebrate the return by a general carousal. As night approached great fires were kindled in the open space in front of the long house, and here the Indians gathered in crowds. Liquor was supplied to all, and the men giving themselves up to the excitement of the occasion, freely indulged their appetites. The more prudent women remained sober and as soon as possible removed and secreted all the weapons they could secure. As the shades of evening deepened to the darkness of night the imprisoned whites could hear the sounds of revelry increasing to an uproar that awoke their gravest anxiety and filled their minds with dismal forebodings. All too soon their fears were realized, for the drunken frenzy of the Indians reached a point beyond the control of the sober women and guards, and despite their protests the warriors broke down the door of the long house and rushed into the building. Among the foremost was the Wolf, with Johnson's scalp at his belt. Horatio recognized the brute and took solemn oath that if the opportunity ever occurred he would avenge the murder of his soldier friend. Without molesting others the savages seized McDonald and dragged him forth as an object of their cruel sport. From insults and cuffs the drunken rioters proceeded to greater violence. Sharp Shins finally tomahawked the unfortunate soldier, chopped off his head, thrust a spear into the skull and stood it up as an object of contumely. All the ferocity of their natures was now aroused, and the savages danced around the gory head shrieking like demons. Even the guards became attracted to the demon-



strations around the fire and followed the mob from the door of the prison. In the darkness, near at hand, stood a little group of women. As the guards left the door, the women glided around the corner into the house that was dimly lighted by the fires without. The prisoners were huddled together, full of forebodings. As the women suddenly entered with fingers placed over their mouths to denote silence, Jones recognized the two who had saved his life. Seizing the hands of the captives the squaws led them out of the doorway, around the corner of the building into the darkness. Without pausing at all they hurried through the bushes leading the white men to places of safety.

After dancing about the head of McDonald and offering it every indignity they could invent the crazy warriors again rushed to the long house bent on the destruction of the remaining prisoners. Finding them gone they awoke the echoes of the hills with howls of disappointment. Frantic, and thirsting for more blood, they quarreled among themselves. The liquor they had imbibed in unrestricted quantities soon overcame them, and one by one the maudlin wretches dropped to the earth in drunken stupor. Later the fires died away fitfully, and only an occasional yell from some half-awakened reveler reached the ears of the concealed captives.

On the following day, when the Indians had recovered their senses, the women restored the weapons and prisoners. They later convened in council, and few would have recognized the members of the drunken mob in the stately chiefs and grave warriors, who assembled calmly to determine the fate of the white captives. The prisoners understood little of the discussion but its purport was related to Jones at a later date. According to their custom the warriors sat upon the ground in a circle with the captives in front and men, women and children huddled about the outer circle. As each warrior took his place he lighted a pipe and continued to smoke during the session, save when speaking.

When all who desired had spoken Hudson arose. He said it seemed to be the general sentiment that enough white men had been slain to atone for the blood of the Indians



killed; it now remained for the council to decide upon the disposition of the survivors. Do-eh-saw, or Jack Berry, as he was called, knocked the ashes from his pipe and stood up. He said he spoke for the Indian mother who had sent by him a belt of wampum. He recounted his connection with the battle on the Juniata and the capture by himself and Hahney-wee\* of the young prisoner. Berry narrated the subsequent events of the homeward march, the race with Sharp Shins, the incidents of the gauntlet, his rescue by the woman who sent the wampum, his entry into the long house, his removal, which prevented further bloodshed, and his return to the custody of the warriors. Neither he nor Ha-neh-wee-sah made any claim to the boy. The singular circumstances that had combined to bring him to the sorrowing mother convinced her that Ha-wen-ne-ya, the "Great Spirit," had sent the lad to replace her dead son, and she now claimed the young captive, whom she intended to adopt. While the members of the war-party were acquainted with these facts the greater number of Indians knew nothing of the particulars of the affair.

The story of the sturdy chief moved their superstitious natures, and a profound silence prevailed in the long house. At length Shongo stood erect and the audience waited upon his words. He said that his ears had been open to receive this story. He believed the Great Spirit watched over his Indian children and planned wisely for them. No one could listen to what had occurred without feeling that Ha-wen-ne-ya had sent this handsome boy to the Seneca nation for a good purpose. Some misfortune would surely fall upon the people if they failed to carry out the design of the Great Spirit. The lad should remain and become one of themselves, and the future would reveal why he had been sent to the red men of the Genesee. It was so decided, when the assemblage clapped their hands and cried, "Ya-ho, Ya-ho!" in approval.

It was decided to take the other prisoners to Niagara and

\* English name, Blue Eyes. He was cousin of the woman who adopted Jones. He later became a chief of distinction and in his old age resided at Red House on the Alleghany.



deliver them to the British fathers. When ready Nelles took the men to the fort and turned them over to the commander. The Oneida woman, who interposed for Boyd at the mouth of Sinnemahoning Creek, and who had assisted in his rescue from the long house, accompanied him to Niagara. When Boyd was sent to Quebec with other prisoners, she nursed him on the voyage and did not leave him until he was placed in a hospital. When convalescent the hospital authorities turned him into the street without money or acquaintances, but as he walked along, he saw a sign-board bearing the legend, "Masonic Inn." Boyd entered, gave the sign to the landlord, and was received and cared for till he was exchanged. The Indian woman, in due time, returned to Oneida, where Capt. (afterwards Colonel) Boyd often sent her presents and on one occasion visited her there in person. Lieut. Cook was also exchanged at Quebec.\*

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#### IV. THE ADOPTION—LIFE AMONG THE SENECA.

The founders of the League of the Iroquois adopted a scheme of tribal relationship by which the people of each nation were separated into divisions or clans. The Mohawks say that in the beginning there were but three clans, wolf, bear and turtle; that the Oneidas have only those three and the same ones exist in each nation. Hale says that the Onondagas have in addition the deer, eel, beaver, ball and snipe. The Cayugas substitute the hawk and heron for the ball and eel; the Tuscaroras divide the wolf clan into gray and yellow wolf and the turtle clan into great and little turtle.

According to ancient custom a person adopted into an Iroquois family to replace one dead, was supposed to assume the personality of the deceased and the station and property of the predecessor. The rites of adoption severed all former ties and the person was thereafter a blood de-

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\* Boyd died in Northumberland in 1833. Cook died in 1822, aged 76 years. Horatio Jones and his companions ran the gauntlet at what is now Fort Hill farm, near Canadea.





scendant of the woman who occupied the place of mother, and a relative of every Iroquois of that clan. No person could marry in his or her clan but the children were classed with the clan of the mother.

Horatio's Indian mother was born at Gan-no-wan-gus, near present Avon, about 1744. She was a blood sister of Guy-an-gwa-ta or Cornplanter, who was the half-breed son of a Dutch trader named Abeel. Cornplanter, by his exploits and force of character became a war chief and eventually the most influential man of his time in the Seneca nation. When Horatio fell into Seneca hands Cornplanter's fame was in the ascendancy and his family one of the most prominent on the Genesee River. Although the Indian father held no title he was brave and skilled in the capture of game. He was called Hah-do-wes-go-wah, or "the Great Hunter." He did not object to the adoption, but seemed an indifferent spectator. The Iroquois seldom recognized a white person by his proper name. They gave a new captive some descriptive title which was liable to be changed from time to time. A change, however, required public announcement at some general assembly. In accordance with Indian custom the ceremony of adoption included the conferring of the name by which the person was to be designated by his Indian associates. Horatio had been spoken of as "The handsome boy"\* from his capture and "Hocsagowah"† was a term so fitting that it was adopted by the clan. When the war song had been sung and his name proclaimed, Horatio was in their eyes no longer a white person, but a full-blooded Seneca of the hawk clan, like his mother.

When the strange ceremony ended the Indians pressed forward with greetings. Then Horatio's mother and sister proudly led him through groups of curious natives along the path in the bushes through which he had thrice passed in deadly peril, to the house in which he had so unexpectedly

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\* In 1831 Tom Cayuga's wife, Judy, the oldest squaw then at Squawkie Hill, told Benj. F. Angel that Jones was the handsomest person, white or red, that the Indians had ever seen.

† Given by John Jameson as "Hocsahdeych."



found shelter and friends. Entering, the mother led him up to a fine-looking Indian, who greeted him with "Soh-ne-ho?" ("Who is it?") "Hehs-ha-wuk, Hocsagowah," ("Your son, Handsome Boy"), she replied and to Horatio she said, "Yuh-neh" ("Your father"). He required no introduction to his sister, but two bright, sturdy young lads came shyly forward to greet him. They all made him welcome in a manner that could not have expressed more affection if the dead Toandoqua had returned to assume his natural place in the household. Others came and were introduced as relatives.

Food was set before him and as he satisfied his hunger he turned his curious gaze from the members of the household to such detail of his surroundings as he could inspect. The dwelling stood in a small clearing. It was like most of the houses occupied by the Senecas in their permanent towns. The sides and ends were of logs, rudely laid up, with the crevices stuffed with sticks and clay. It was about ten by twelve feet; the door, loosely hung on wooden hinges, in one end; the roof formed of sheets of bark overlapping each other like long shingles and secured by poles laid on the outside fastened at each gable end. A square opening in one end of the house served as a window in the daytime; it was closed with a sheet of bark at night. The interior was as rude as the outside. The floor was the hard-packed earth. Two benches or shelves of poles, one about two feet above the floor, the other near the eaves, ran along the sides of the house, serving as seats in the daytime and beds at night. A rough shelf at one end held a small brass kettle, a few bark trays and several short square-edge wooden spoons. Pegs in the front wall supported a rifle and its equipments, a tomahawk and other articles, the property of the husband. In one corner, near the door, stood an ax, a hollow block of wood and a pestle for pounding corn, the implements of the wife. The fire occupied the center of the floor, the smoke supposed to find its way upward and out through an opening in the roof. On occasions, as Horatio soon learned, it settled in stifling clouds in every part of the room. Crotched sticks at each side of the fireplace supported a cross pole from which kettles and roasting



meat were hung. Three or four smooth flat stones, frequently used in baking, were half hidden in the bed of ashes. Had the place been far more forbidding in aspect, the sense of security and comfort would have rendered it a welcome haven to the weary boy. When he was thoroughly refreshed the mother tried to make him comprehend that as one of her children he was entitled to certain rights and privileges and the use of certain things. Also that he must respect the rights of other members of the family regarding their individual places and property in the house. He used every endeavor to adapt himself to his altered circumstances.

Berry continued with the war-party to Niagara and on his return to the Genesee went to his home at Little Beard's Town, leaving Jones among those who spoke only the native dialects. By continual application he rapidly advanced in a knowledge of the Seneca tongue and from the date of his adoption experienced little difficulty in communicating with his native associates. Closely observing the customs of the Senecas he learned that the men provided game, traded furs for clothing, arms and such other necessities as they could procure for barter with traders or at the fort, built canoes, debated in council and followed the pursuit of war. The women seldom interfered with the men in their particular business and no Seneca woman ever walked before her husband—such an offense would have been unpardonable. If a man killed a large animal while hunting he usually cut out sufficient for a meal, secured the rest from wild beasts, returned home and directed the women of his family to bring in the carcass. The women cured the meat, dressed the skins, made the clothing, belts, moccasins, bead work, collected wood, brought water, planted, hoed and harvested the crops, pounded corn into meal and prepared the food. While the care and correction of the children were left to the mother, the word of the father was law for all under his roof. The rule of parents was generally mild, and children were usually obedient and respectful, making their homes with and subject to their commands until marriage.

Horatio found the Indian domicile a remarkable contrast to the quiet home on the Juniata where the proverbial neat-



ness of the Quaker sect was exemplified. If his stomach sometimes rebelled at the domestic habits of his Indian mother, occasional scant fare furnished a keen appetite. To his own surprise he soon overcame these scruples regarding the untidy habits of those about him and learned to enjoy many things that under earlier conditions would have proved distasteful. To replace his worn clothing he adopted the full Indian dress. There were no underclothes. A stout belt was fastened about the body next to the skin. The waist-cloth, a strip of cloth or soft deer skin five or six feet long and from ten to sixteen inches wide, was passed between the legs and drawn under the belt, the ends usually highly ornamented and fringed, hanging loose before and behind. The legs were covered with leggins reaching the upper part of the thighs and secured to the belt by thongs of deers' hide. The frock or shirt was gathered about the waist by a second belt. The frock and leggins were trimmed with fringe; the feet encased in moccasins and the head covered with a cap made of skins or a piece of colored cloth wound round in form of a turban. Some of the men in place of a frock belted about the waist wore a blanket that was drawn up over the head like a hood. This blanket was used as a coat in the daytime and for a bed at night. The older Indians oftenest wore the blanket.

Horatio soon learned there was no law but personal might in an Indian community; he had the discernment to understand that by maintaining a fearless demeanor he would suffer fewer hardships and gain greater respect than by any attempt to conciliate those who chose to override his personal rights. He conducted himself consistently, always spoke the truth, endured physical discomfort without complaint, was foremost where his services were required or permitted, and was even-tempered and agreeable to all about him; but under no circumstances would he submit to insult from warrior or chief. Possessing a natural gift of speech, he soon not only mastered the Seneca tongue, but also acquired the accentuation so difficult for beginners, upon which the meaning of many Indian words depends. He was soon called upon to act as interpreter in examining





white prisoners brought into town and it became his recognized duty to question all the captives regarding such things as the red men wished to know. If a captive was found to have taken the life of an Indian in cold blood or in any manner save in battle he was condemned to torture. The position of interpreter was thus particularly responsible. To so question prisoners that he would retain the confidence of the red men and yet conceal from them that which would injure those who were questioned, required no little tact and courage.\* Jones proved equal to such emergencies and sought opportunities to aid his fellow captives. He was soon referred to by the Indians as "Hi-e-wah-doo-gis-tah," or "The Interpreter."

Entering into Indian games and sports with the zest of youth, Horatio won the admiration of the village by his personal prowess. He had a passion for fishing and hunting, hence won success in the capture of game. His father gave him a gun and ammunition. His skill as a marksman was marveled at and no one ever affronted him when his favorite weapon, the rifle, was at hand.

It had been the custom of Sir William Johnson to send blacksmiths among the Six Nations to repair their firearms, but this favor was discontinued at the opening of the war. Supt. Guy Johnson attempted to accommodate the Iroquois by doing their work at Niagara. This was a serious inconvenience to journey eighty miles by trail or rather double that distance going and returning to have the work performed by the British armorer at the fort. Horatio made some repairs to his own equipments and this led to work of the same nature for others. Delighting in this mechanical work he set up a rude forge and from crude materials wrought out tools so that he repaired arms of the warriors. Then they called him "Hi-u-do-nis," "The Gunsmith." Whenever they obtained a tool or crude material they took it to him. Worn-out axes of iron and horseshoes were worked in his fire and on his stone anvil into hoes, spears and knife blades; horseshoe nails were transformed into drills, awls, primers and wormers. The remains of old brass kettles fur-

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\* S. H. Gridley, D. D., Collections, Waterloo Historical Society.



nished the ingenious captive with material for bands and ornaments on tomahawk handles and gun stocks, and then they called him "Ha-wes-do-ne," or "Blacksmith." The women termed him "Haw-wes-ta-no-she-o-ne." "The Silver-smith." Silver coins he converted into rings for fingers and ears or hammered them into sheets from which he fashioned brooches and buttons. Bits of brass and thin strips of bone made an excellent comb. The horns of deer he made into knives, whips and awls, fish spears, hair pins and small boxes for holding paint. Mouthpieces for pipes were made of the same material, while a broken powderhorn, under his deft fingers, made a useful spoon. These labors were fully appreciated and the Indians assured him his services were of greater value to them than the combined work of all their other captives. Of course these experiences covered several months' residence among the Senecas during which time Jones had many and varied experiences.

Hah-do-wes-go-wah made his permanent residence in the house in which Horatio first found refuge, but he made frequent excursions for game or to different places to visit friends. The family were proud of their new son and brother and the mother took great pleasure in introducing him to her acquaintances.

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## V. THE MEETING WITH JASPER PARRISH.

As soon as Horatio could make himself understood in Seneca the family prepared for a trip down the river. They selected such light articles as they needed, leaving everything else in the house. Hah-do-wes-go-wah had neither lock or bolt upon his door. When the family was ready to depart a few sheets of bark were laid over the smoke vent in the roof, and the wife set a broom outside the door with the handle fastened against the board in such a manner as not to be easily displaced by wind or storm. This was to indicate that the owners were absent: the hunter left his home confident of finding it undisturbed on his return.

Proceeding down the river trail carrying their simple



baggage upon their backs, the party halted for a few days' visit at Little Beard's Town. Considerable attention was given the new Indian boy by his clan relatives residing there, and among other matters they related to him events connected with Sullivan's invasion. Jones knew that Lieutenant Thomas Boyd was a brother of his own company commander, and that incited an interest in the details of his capture. Nearly all the male inhabitants of Little Beard's Town had participated in the thrilling scenes and several of Horatio's new acquaintances had personally engaged in the torture of Boyd and Parker. These rehearsed for his entertainment the events leading to the death of the two prisoners, and escorted Horatio to the old town on the flat, and at the junction of two small streams they pointed out the exact spot of the execution. They described how Boyd's intestines were fastened to a tree and the unfortunate officer driven and dragged about its trunk until his entrails were drawn from his body. Approaching the tree closely Horatio found numerous marks made with tomahawks upon the sides of the small oak and discovered clinging to the bark particles of dried flesh that the Indians assured him had remained there since the death of Boyd. Not a single native would touch the tree as the superstitious creatures imagined bad luck would follow any contact with the flesh and that the spirits of the dead soldiers would haunt the offenders.

Soon after, having been left alone, he was startled by a cry of "Hi, you!" in plain English. Turning Jones saw a man leaning upon his rifle. The stranger was clothed in Indian dress, but it was easy to see that he was a white man. There was a quizzical look upon his face and Horatio good-naturedly answered him, "Hi, yourself!"

"Berry told me," said the stranger, "that he had brought a handsome boy to the Genesee, and he was tolerably correct, judging from your looks."

"I wish I could say the same of you," Jones replied, laughing, "but I don't think your dress adds to your natural beauty." The two laughed and shook hands cordially. The stranger said his name was Joseph Smith, that he was



captured at Cherry Valley, and was now living with an Indian family at Little Beard's Town. Soon observing that they were watched by the Indians, Jones and Smith went each his way. Thus began the friendship between these two men of which we shall hear more later on.

In consequence of their improvident habits the Indians frequently lacked food. During the absence of the Juniata war-party, corn, their principal article of diet, was exhausted at the upper Genesee village, and many of the Indians were compelled to resort to wild roots and herbage to preserve their lives. An appeal for assistance was made to the commandant of Fort Niagara, who sent an officer to ascertain the condition of affairs in the Seneca towns. Upon his recommendation a generous supply of food was forwarded to the needy people, just prior to the return of the expedition; hence, when Capt. Boyd and his fellow-prisoners arrived on the Genesee, the Indians were well supplied with provisions. It was the custom of the Genesee Indians when game was scarce to go to Lake Erie to catch a kind of fish which they called *skis-tu-wa*, now supposed to have been mullets. These were opened and dried in smoke, large quantities often being carried to the home towns. The Niagara River was also a noted resort, and parties of Indians were almost constantly fishing there, at favorite points.

Some time during the summer of 1781, a party from the Genesee, including the family to which Horatio belonged, went on a fishing excursion to the Niagara. Working their way down the stream they encamped near the Devil's Hole, a great depression in the east bank of the river, three miles below Niagara Falls. Standing on its brink one can look down upon the tops of tall forest trees growing in the bottom of the pit, which covers an area of several acres. Near the top the sides are precipitous, but further down huge moss-covered rocks are strewn about as though tossed to their positions, by a convulsion of nature, presenting so wild an appearance that the beholder recognizes the appropriateness of the name to the place. The Seneca name was *Dy-os-da-ny-ah-goh* ("It has cleft the rocks off").\* Horatio was

\* O. H. Marshall's Historical Writings.





informed of the massacre of 1763 at that point, and showed so keen an interest that his Indian friends took pride in calling his attention to objects and locations with which the memorable events were connected. A chief whose ancestors had been dispossessed of the Niagara country by the Iroquois, but who was reckoned a Seneca had been one of the leaders of this attack upon the English. In the fitful light of their camp-fire, located in view of the Devil's Hole he rehearsed the episode and in the morning went over his battleground of eighteen years before. Curiosity led some of the party into the deep gulf. At the bottom they found bits of the wagons, skulls and scattered bones, mementoes of the awful tragedy. Climbing up the rocks on the northern side they came to an opening in the escarpment in the bottom of which a tiny stream of water trickled forth. The guides crawled into the aperture and Horatio followed. Once accustomed to the dim light of the interior he beheld a chamber large enough to hold several people. He was glad to learn of this cavern and carefully noted its location in case he should ever need a safe retreat in that locality.

While the fishing party camped near the Devil's Hole, Jones asked permission to go to Fort Niagara and as there was little danger of his escaping the vigilance of so many people his request was granted. He had arrived within half a mile of the fort when he came upon three boys, two of whom were dressed in the scarlet uniforms of British drummers and were evidently out on leave. The other boy seemed, from his dress and general appearance, to be an Indian twelve or thirteen years old. The two red-coats were forcing a quarrel with the smaller boy, who was on the defensive with a determined air that held his adversaries in check; it was apparent however that force of numbers would decide the contest if the boys came to blows. Horatio believed in fair play and noting the state of affairs stepped up to the trio and inquired in Seneca, "Ah-ne-yo-dyah?" ("What is going on?") The lads turned to look at the newcomer and the Indian replied in Mohawk, "These two boys want to whip me."

"Can you whip one?"



"Yes."

"Then you whip one and I will whip the other."

"All right," he cried, and before the astonished drummers realized the nature of the conversation, the young Indians attacked them with vigor and soon punished them so severely that they beat a retreat towards the garrison, leaving the natives, so to speak, masters of the fields. Horatio could not restrain the impulse to shout:

"Run, you red-coated devils! Run like the cowards you are; the next time you try to whip a boy get a man to help you."

The Indian boy turned and gazed upon his generous champion, his eyes sparkling with delight. "You talk English?" he inquired.

"Certainly," replied Horatio promptly. "I am a Pennsylvania prisoner."

"Why, I believe you are a white boy also," the other exclaimed, viewing his new acquaintance critically. "Yes, I am," replied the lad, "and I cannot tell you how glad I am to meet a white friend." As the boys went on together to the fort they told their circumstances in mutual confidence. The lad told Jones that his name was Jasper Parrish. He was born in Connecticut in 1767. His father soon after went across the head waters of the Delaware and settled in New York. On the 5th of July, 1778, he accompanied his father and brother Stephen to assist a neighbor who lived in an exposed situation to remove nearer the settlement. When about six miles from home they were all captured, together with a man named James Pemberton, by a party of Munsee or Delaware Indians under a war-chief called Capt. Mounsh. The prisoners were conducted up the Delaware River to a camp called Cook House, near the mouth of Oquago Creek.\* Two days later Mr. Parrish with others was separated from his son. Capt. Mounsh claimed Jasper as his prisoner and during the association of the two treated the white boy with

\* Cook House was near Deposit, N. Y. These facts as narrated by Horatio Jones and given by descendants of the latter, have been verified by a MS. prepared by Stephen Parrish, son of Jasper, and loaned by the latter's granddaughter, Mrs. Carrie Cobb Draper, to the late Hon. Orlando Allen, who read the account before the Buffalo Historical Society.



kindness. Jasper remained at Cook House until the 1st of October, when Capt. Mounsh and his party, with all his prisoners, continued their journey to Chemung. On entering the village the Indians there gave a war-cry and ran out to meet them. They pulled Jasper off his horse and pounded him unmercifully with tomahawk handles and whips, until Capt. Mounsh interfered and rescued him. In the late fall Mounsh sold Jasper to a Delaware family, living near the village, on the south side of Tioga River. He was at once taken to his new home. During the winter he suffered greatly from lack of food and clothing. To harden him to cold the Indians compelled him to strip, each day of winter, and jump into the river through a hole cut in the ice; but in this and other respects he was treated as one of themselves by the Delawares. The family hunted and fished until the last of August, 1779; when General Sullivan's army approached, Jasper fled with the savages to Newtown, and was left with the squaws, other prisoners, and baggage, in a secure place. After the battle he continued with them up the river to Painted Post, where the warriors overtook the women the following day. They continued their flight by way of what are now Bath, Dansville, Fall Brook, Moscow and Tonawanda, making but brief stops until they reached Niagara, where nearly all the Iroquois were encamped on the plains near the fort. A few days later Jasper met James Pemberton, who had been captured with himself.

Pemberton told Jasper that he and his fellow-prisoners were brought to the Niagara River, where his captors camped on the flat under the mountain (now Lewiston). There the warriors decided to torture Pemberton, whose sturdy frame gave promise of great endurance. Joseph Brant, who was in command of the party, tried to persuade the band to give up their purpose. To this they would not consent, and setting up a green stake on the bluff overlooking the river, set Pemberton to work to collect wood for his own funeral pyre. Brant was displeased and secretly appealed to the women, telling them if they would effect his escape one of them should have this fine-looking man for her husband. While Pemberton was gathering brush near



a little runway the squaws hurried him out of sight. They took him to the fort where he was protected by Col. Butler who gave him work. Pemberton told Jasper that his father and brother had been sent to Montreal to be exchanged, but that he himself preferred to remain with the Indians.\* Jasper said that the Indians became so troublesome at Niagara, that, to get rid of them, the British authorities offered a guinea for each Yankee scalp brought in. This reward led to an adventure that Jasper related to Horatio as the boys walked slowly towards the fort.

"The Delaware family I was with stayed here until late in the fall (1779). One day the Indians got to drinking and I was left with two warriors who were quite drunk. Being cold I gathered wood and kept up a good fire. The Indians sat on one side of the fire and I on the other. They began to talk, saying they would like more rum, and that it would be an easy matter to kill the young Yankee and get the bounty with which to buy it. I understood their conversation and watched them closely. After a little one of them plucked a long brand out of the fire and hurled it at me with all his might. I dodged the stick, sprang up and ran into the bushes where the Indians attempted to follow, but being drunk and the night dark they could not catch me. I kept away from the fire all night, but when they had become sober the next day I returned to camp.

"One day my Delaware master took me into the fort and tried to sell me to the white people there, but none of them would buy. Finally we met a large, fine-looking Mohawk named Capt. Daniel Hill, who bought me of the Delaware for twenty dollars. Capt. Hill took me to his tent and said to me in English: 'This is your home, and you must stay here.' I had been very well treated by the Delawares, had learned their language and did not like the idea of changing masters. However the change has proved a very happy one in many respects.

"In November the Six Nations held a great council in the

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\* Pemberton remained at Niagara until released in 1783. He then joined the Tuscaroras and married the mother of John Mountpleasant. His numerous descendants are among the most respected Tuscarora families of the present day.





fort. Capt. Hill took me in to the assemblage and I thought he was going to sell me to some other nation, but instead of that he put a belt of wampum about my neck, and a very old chief took me by the hand and made a speech. I did not understand what was said as the Mohawk language is so very different from the Delaware; the whole affair was conducted in a very solemn manner. After the speech all the chiefs came and shook hands with me and Capt. Hill told me he had adopted me as his son; that I must return to his tent, which was now my own home.

"We remained at the fort till the next May when all the Mohawks there moved up under the mountain about two miles east of the river; that is now our home. I have been treated very kindly by Capt. Hill and his family and the other Mohawks. I have hunted and fished with them, been with a war-party to the settlements and visited many of the Six Nations' towns."

The boys spent the day together at the fort. A warm friendship sprang up between them and their frequent meetings thereafter were among the most pleasant events of their forest lives.

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## VI. FLIGHT AND RETURN—AN ENCOUNTER.

The white captives in the Genesee towns had little opportunity for intercourse with each other. While apparently free to come and go they were each and all under surveillance and any attempt to pass certain limits was checked in a manner unpleasantly suggestive of fatal results in a serious attempt to escape.

Horatio so thoroughly ingratiated himself in the affections of the family and so vigorously resented interference with his personal rights that he was permitted many privileges denied to captives of less independence of spirit. There was much in the life he led in the wilderness that was congenial and to all outward appearances he was satisfied with the change in his condition; yet under his careless manner he, at times, carried a troubled heart. Visions of



the home on the Juniata, of parents and friends would intrude to disturb his slumbers and he secretly pined for home and civilization. He had little confidence in his ability to find his way back to Bedford County and he availed himself of the first opportunity to enlist in an expedition against the frontier settlers, thinking he might find an opportunity, when near settlements, to escape. His offer was rejected on the plea that his services were greatly needed at home to mend the guns and examine prisoners. At length he resolved to escape. Putting his weapons in order and securing a supply of ammunition and a little food, early one morning he left the camp. His departure was unobserved and his absence not noted until some hours later when his assistance was required in some small matter. As no one could tell where he was suspicions were aroused and the Indians at once concluded that Hoc-sa-go-wah "walk bushes" to escape. An alarm was spread and men scattered in all directions to discover traces of the fugitive. Thanks to his skill in woodcraft he covered his trail so perfectly that the experienced hunters found no sign. They scoured the forest paths for miles and sent their fleetest runners upon distant trails. Knowing this would be the course Jones sought the frontier of Pennsylvania by a route that would avoid Indian paths yet be sufficiently direct to reach his destination in the briefest possible time. The extra caution he was forced to exercise rendered his progress slow and laborious.

He had been alone in the wilderness many hours, when he discovered a sheltered place in a ravine where he could spend the night. Reconnoitering the surroundings and deciding the best course of retreat in case of an attack, he carefully effaced every trace of his trail and stretched his weary limbs for a night's repose upon a bed of soft leaves. He considered himself beyond all danger of pursuit and feared only a chance encounter with straggling hunters. Musing upon his situation the fugitive's thoughts ran to his boyhood's home. He wondered if he would find his friends as he left them, if his father and mother were still living; what changes might have occurred during his absence. Then his thoughts turned to himself. He had left home a fair-com-



plexioned boy; now every exposed part of his person was bronzed by sun and wind to a shade not very unlike the natural color of the Indians, and in outward appearance he was an uncouth native of the wilderness. He wondered if his friends would recognize and welcome him or would regard him with surprise and indifference. His relatives had doubtless given him up as dead, and though he had been absent so short a time it would seem like beginning a new life to reënter the settlement. Then he thought of the wretched captives whom the savages were constantly bringing to the Genesee, and how he had already been able to mitigate the sufferings and preserve the lives of several persons. It seemed as though the event of his capture was truly providential, and that he had been sent there for some special purpose. If he were to effect his escape would it not be like deserting a post of duty? Who would take his place as interpreter and befriend prisoners? Would it not be better to forego his own desires, return to the Indian town and continue in his increasing influence in behalf of captives? All the long hours of that dismal night his mind was active with conflicting thoughts and when morning came he decided to return to his Indian home. With this resolution he realized that to carry it into effect he must risk the danger of recapture and the horrors of certain torture, the usual fate of deserters. He felt sure if he could enter the village undetected he would not have to suffer severe punishment. On his return he used the same skill in forest strategem that accomplished his escape. Before his presence in the Indian town was known he entered his father's house, quietly laid aside his equipments, to all outward appearances unconscious of anything unusual or strange in his actions. The warm welcome that followed his entrance dissipated every doubt of the affection of the family and the wisdom of his return. No explanation of his absence was required, it being tacitly conceded that he had missed his course while hunting and was too proud to speak of the mistake. He received cautions and instructions for future guidance and thereafter the Indians were less vigilant in guarding him; but he never revealed to them his attempt to escape.



For a distance of sixteen miles below what is now Portage, as the channel runs, the Genesee River occupies the bottom of a deep gorge, the rocky walls of which rise in places nearly 500 feet above the water. In the town of Mt. Morris the stream suddenly breaks through the side of the mountain and thereafter winds in great curves through vast prairies or flats that extend to the city of Rochester nearly forty miles distant in air line. This opening in the side of the valley is a striking feature of the landscape; the Senecas called the spot "Da-yo-it-ga-o," "Where the river issues from the hill."\* The west bank is broken by a plateau, 200 feet perhaps above the stream, from which a fine view may be obtained of a long and magnificent stretch of landscape. All about the student of aboriginal history discovers evidences of a pre-historic people who dwelt there before the Iroquois conquest; prior to the date of Sullivan's campaign, no Seneca village had been located upon the heights.

The Squ-agh-kie Indians, who figured as a separate nation in Colonel Butler's Niagara treaty in 1776, had been captured some years previous to that time, by the Iroquois, adopted and attached to the Seneca nation. According to Iroquois custom when a large body of prisoners was taken, the Squ-agh-kies, or Squakies, were established in a separate village, a few miles south of the principal town of the Senecas. They resided at Gath-se-o-wa-lo-ha-re in 1779, which village was destroyed by Sullivan. When Guy Johnson in the early spring of 1780 dispersed the Iroquois to new homes the Squakies were assigned a seat on the west side of the Genesee at Da-yo-it-ga-o on the trail between De-o-num-da-gao and the up-river towns. The village bore a distinctive title but was generally termed Squakie Hill.

On the plateau previously described, overlooking the Genesee and Canaseraga valleys, was a level open space of about two acres, supposed to have been a clearing made by a prehistoric people, where the Iroquois of the Genesee held their annual feasts and dances. After the annual crop of beans, corn and squashes was harvested, the inhabitants of

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\* Squakie Hill.





the Seneca villages assembled there for a grand harvest festival. Hundreds of men, women and children camped in the vicinity; on the days of the feasts great fires were made, and huge kettles of succotash and squashes were cooked and distributed to the multitude. Horatio was much interested in the ceremonies on the occasion of his first visit to Squakie Hill and heartily enjoyed the novelty as well as the unusual supply of nourishing food.

Since the day of his adoption Horatio had had little intercourse with Sharp Shins. The famous hunter resided at Squakie Hill and on this occasion took part in the festivities. Jones soon discovered that an evil influence was at work against himself for some of the young braves began petty persecutions that he disdained to notice; so they determined to humiliate the handsome boy who seemed so unconscious of their efforts to awaken his resentment. One day several young persons were seated near a fire engaged in light talk as they received liberal portions of succotash which the women were dispensing. Presently a clique of young braves began to banter Jones who had then pretty thoroughly mastered the Seneca tongue. He met the raillery with such good-humored replies that he turned the laugh upon the assailants. Numbers began to gather about the fire listening to the badinage, when it became evident that the braves were endeavoring to force a quarrel. Jones felt sure of this when he saw Sharp Shins join the circle and heard the shrill laugh of the runner at each sally of the aggressive party and he quietly determined upon a plan of action. Finding that the white boy was too keen in repartee for their dull wit the braves began abuse, and one fellow attempted to anger Horatio by an open insult. The words hardly escaped the lips of the bully when Jones seized the offender by the collar of his deerskin frock and with a jerk brought him upon his knees in front of the fire. Pushing the fellow's head between his own knees Horatio held him as in a vice, tore open the frock at the throat and seizing a squash from a boiling kettle thrust it down the Indian's back next to the flesh. Loosening his hold of the man's head, Jones suddenly forced him over on his back, mashing the hot squash to a soft plaster that



burned the flesh to a blister. The yells and contortions of the victim incited the uproarious mirth of all present and as Horatio released him he scrambled to his feet, tore off his frock, and scraping the mass from his back slunk away amid a chorus of jeers. Jones quietly resumed his seat and continued his meal without further interruption.

Disappointed at the failure of his plan to injure the handsome boy through others, Sharp Shins determined to make a personal effort to kill him. The wily runner was thoroughly skilled in the use of the tomahawk and could split a sapling at a distance that few hunters could strike the tree. While some of the young men were exhibiting their skill in throwing axes at a tree, the runner joined the party and watching his opportunity during the excitement of the game managed to throw his tomahawk, apparently by accident, directly at Jones. As if by a miracle the weapon of the treacherous savage missed the boy but all the passion in Horatio's nature was aroused at the act. Catching up the keen axe he turned upon his persecutor and hurled the weapon back with tremendous force. If the tomahawk had been thrown with a skill equal to the strength expended in the effort Sharp Shins would never more have traveled the forest trails. As it was he received a blow from the flying axe that knocked him over, inflicting injuries that confined him to his hut for several days. The Indians generally approved the action of Hoc-sa-go-wah and he was not again molested during the festival season.

During the early winter of 1781-2 the Indians on the Genesee were attacked by smallpox, a disease that often raged among the red men until it exhausted its malignant force in a lack of victims. The Indians appealed to the commandant of Niagara who sent English surgeons to care for them. On the arrival of the surgeons, the sick were separated from the well, huts were prepared outside the village to serve as hospitals, and as soon as symptoms appeared the individuals were sent to these rude retreats. Few persons on the upper Genesee escaped the contagion. Many died and were immediately buried. Only those who had recovered from the plague could be prevailed upon to care for the



sick and the reckless indifference of some of these unwilling attendants was such that several persons were buried alive when it appeared probable they could not recover. It was the knowledge of this rather than the fatality of the scourge that seriously alarmed Horatio when he was stricken and removed to a lonely hut in the woods. "Against such a fate Jones zealously guarded. Hence when the disease was at its crisis, life was hanging in the balance equally poised and he was no longer able to give verbal indications of vitality, his irrepressible energy made sufficient sign that he was not to be buried so long as he could breathe. His hardy constitution withstood the shock of the disease, which cleansed his system of all impurities, leaving him stronger than before."\* The scourge on the Genesee ran its course, when the survivors resumed their ordinary routine of life.

Although Sharp Shins avoided all personal contact with Jones after his unpleasant encounter at Squakie Hill, his evil influence was ever secretly at work to annoy and injure "the handsome boy." The latter was, on several occasions, placed in positions that required all his tact in order to extricate himself with credit to himself and he finally determined to bring matters to an issue either with Sharp Shins or those whom he influenced to annoy him.

The winter was severe and the snow so deep at times that persons wandering from beaten paths wore snowshoes. The labor of procuring the fuel became too great for the women who usually performed that duty and the young men were sent out to bring in wood. On these occasions the fuel hunters usually went in small parties, collected and packed the wood in bundles that they carried on their shoulders. By pursuing one route they made a narrow but well beaten path in the snow nearly on a level with the ground but wide enough for only one person. While out for wood one day the friends of Sharp Shins determined to have some sport at the expense of Jones, by pushing him, one after the other, off the trail into the deep snow, leaving him to flounder out unaided.

\* Sketch of Horatio Jones by S. H. Gridley, D. D., in Collections of Wat-  
loo Historical Society.



Horatio had secured some saplings and the sharp, jagged roots were closely packed together at the ends. The load was heavy and when the first brave threw him into the deep snow he joined in the laugh against himself, as he with some difficulty regained his footing. The second effort aroused his suspicions and the third his anger. As the third Indian came up to try his skill the persecuted boy suddenly paused and turning his strength into one desperate effort, whirled around on his toes. Jones had calculated his distance well and the roots of the saplings struck the offender square in the face, knocking him headlong into the deep snow. Jones recovered his balance and without a glance backward quietly continued his course, leaving the discomfited bullies to assist their unfortunate comrade who was badly injured.

It was encounters of this nature that taught even the bravest of the Senecas to hesitate before unnecessarily provoking the wrath that recked nothing of consequences in its swift punishment of offenders. Yet while they feared his anger even his worst enemy, the bow-legged runner, came to understand that Horatio was just in his resentment, honest in judgment and on occasions where others were at fault but subject to reason he was forbearing even to mildness. These traits of character won him many friends. An incident illustrates Jones' rare moral courage. The training of the frontiersmen of that day included a knowledge of wrestling, an art in which the Indians were quite deficient. In many hand to hand fights between white and red men the skill of the white wrestlers won the victory. The warriors were well aware of this fact and as Jones was proficient in all athletic exercises they frequently sought to improve their muscular dexterity by friendly wrestling matches with the nimble youth, whose skill usually proved more than equal to their greater strength. "On one occasion a powerful Seneca warrior challenged Horatio to a trial of strength. For a time Jones permitted the warrior to throw him so easily that many thought the captive had at length met his match; but suddenly the Indian was raised from his feet and laid upon his back. Instantly springing up he de-





manded another trial and was again placed carefully upon the ground. Greatly astonished the warrior insisted upon a third trial in which all his strength was exerted to overcome the young wrestler. Jones now brought into play an unexpected movement, called the hip-lock, throwing the warrior heavily to the earth. Stung by the shouts of the spectators and in pain from the shock, the Indian jumped up exclaiming fiercely, 'You hurt me; I kill you.' Running for his hatchet he quickly returned with the uplifted weapon. Horatio stood motionless, and as the Indian cautiously approached addressed him thus: 'Cousin, this was a trial of strength and you challenged me. I was the victor, but if my cousin thinks me worthy of death, here I am.' The Indian hesitated a moment, then threw away the hatchet, and approached with outstretched hands in token of friendship. This display of unflinching courage rendered the Seneca warrior a life-long friend."\*

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## VII. HORATIO'S TRIP FOR THE TRADER.

In the early spring of 1782 an English trader came from Fort Niagara to the Genesee with a stock of clothes and trinkets. As Hoc-sa-go-wah was generally called upon to act as interpreter in transactions between the whites and Indians, the trader engaged his services. The goods sold rapidly and finding that he could still do a good business the trader concluded to replenish his stock. During his intercourse with the young interpreter he had become convinced that the latter was trustworthy, and in fact the only person he knew upon whom he could rely; accordingly he made a proposition to Horatio to go to Niagara and bring back a large package of goods, offering as a reward for the labor an entire suit of clothes, consisting of a blanket, coat, shirt, leggins, and colored head-dress, with some silver ornaments in addition. Jones at that time was permitted to go and come as he pleased in the vicinity of Caneadea, and as the offer was too

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\* Sketch of Jones by Hon. Norman Seymour of Mt. Morris.



tempting to be declined he agreed to start as soon as he could make the necessary preparations. Hastening home he entered the house, shouting "Noh-yeh, noh-yeh!" ("Mother, mother!") "Go-a-wak, go-a-wak," ("My son, my son,") returned the good woman, pausing a moment in her work to smile at the impetuous youth and learn the cause of his excitement. Horatio eagerly explained the proposition of the trader and his own agreement to go after the goods, without a thought that the arrangement would be otherwise than pleasing to his family. To his astonishment the smile gave place to an expression of grave disapproval and when he had finished she sternly refused her consent, telling Horatio he was not mature and was not strong enough to carry a large pack such a distance; besides, she said, if he went to Niagara alone among the white people he would not return and she would never see him again. In vain he promised and argued; she would not listen and positively forbade him to leave home.

Seeing her so resolute he apparently accepted her decision as final and cheerfully started upon some slight mission she required. Being quite as stubborn as his Indian mother he determined to go at any cost. During the day he informed the trader of the state of affairs and received from the latter an order upon the post-sutler at Niagara for the goods wanted. Later he removed his rifle and equipments to a hiding place in the woods, managed to secure some bread and rested as much as possible during the day. At night Horatio retired at an early hour and apparently soon fell asleep; he however watched the tardy movements of the other members of his family until all were wrapped in sound slumber. Then he stole quietly into the forest, secured his arms and food and started on the trail for Buffalo Creek.

The path ran northwest over the summit that divides the waters of the Genesee River from those of Lake Erie; fell into the valley of Cattaraugus Creek, passed over into the valley of the west branch of Buffalo Creek and followed the general course of that stream to the Seneca settlement at the junction of the branch with the main stream four miles from its mouth on Lake Erie. Having been over the trail with



the fishing party the young captive was familiar with the route. He had no fear of meeting any one during the night and as there was sufficient light to enable him to see the path quite plainly he started at a rapid pace; but as daylight approached he turned aside into a dense thicket at a bend of the path. Here on a bed of dry pine needles he reclined in such a manner that he could see the trail for a distance each way without danger of being discovered himself by persons on the road. After eating his simple meal and placing his arms ready for instant use he stretched out his weary limbs and fell asleep. Being awakened late in the afternoon by the sound of voices, he looked forth from his concealment and saw two Indians approaching over the trail by which he had come. He recognized them at once and knew they were in pursuit of him.

It had been his intention to abandon the regular path for the rest of the day and to travel parallel with and at such a distance from it as to avoid being seen, but as the pursuers were now in advance he had no further fear of being overtaken. An hour after the Indians passed he resumed his journey on the main trail. Traveling through the lonely forest all that night, he crossed several streams and avoiding Indian camps near the end of Lake Erie, passed over the present site of Buffalo on the trail running down the east side of the Niagara River. As he was again in advance of his pursuers, probably, he halted for a brief rest and ate his breakfast. Resuming the march by daylight he fortunately reached the crossing of Tonawanda Creek without encountering a human being. As the route was much traveled a canoe was usually kept at this point for general use as a ferry. Finding the canoe on the east side Horatio hastily paddled across the stream, secured the boat, hastened onward two or three miles and again turned aside at a place where he could rest and at the same time look out without himself being observed. As he munched his coarse brown bread he soberly considered the situation. At the point where he lay the trail turned nearly west following the curve of the Niagara River to Fort Schlosser, a few miles further on. He knew that Indians in greater or less numbers were



almost constantly encamped at Schlosser and he feared that some of them might annoy or detain him, if he kept the usual road.

By waiting a few hours he would get a much-needed rest and possibly be able to pass Schlosser unobserved in the darkness; but even if he were successful the delay might bring his pursuers upon him. He now decided upon a movement that illustrates his courage and self-reliance in taking risks to accomplish desired ends. Up to this point he had depended upon the regular Indian paths for his course, but he now decided to take a straight cut through the wilderness to Fort Niagara. To his great joy after several hours of travel he came out upon the portage road not far from the crest of the mountain ridge near the present village of Lewiston. Stepping into the well-beaten path he walked to the mouth of the river, some eight or nine miles, boldly entered the fort, presented his order, received his goods, obtained some bread and hurried back into the forest. Not daring to take the open trail on the return journey and encouraged by the success of his first venture Horatio again ventured through the woods, taking a course further east that avoided the river trail and led him to the crossing of Buffalo Creek, where he resumed the regular path to the Genesee. In due time he arrived safely with his heavy load. This had been a difficult, lonely journey of about 100 miles through a gloomy wilderness. Yet Horatio experienced no exultation beyond a thought of satisfaction at the probability of securing greater liberty in his future movements. The trader, receiving his goods, at once paid the carrier his well-earned reward. Horatio arrayed himself in his new clothes and marched proudly home. His mother was delighted at his return and his other relatives were loud in their expressions of welcome: his arrival in advance of the runners sent to bring him back convinced them of his sincerity.

Accepting the greetings with good-nature Horatio improved the opportunity to impress upon the minds of all that he had no desire to return to the settlements of the whites but wished to remain with the red men if they would permit





him the rights and privileges to which the other young men of the nation were entitled. Thereafter his family accorded him their full confidence, permitting him to come and go unquestioned; but he was conscious that others maintained secret watch upon his actions.

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#### VIII. VAN CAMPEN'S CAPTURE AND ESCAPE.

Among those whose lives were intimately associated with Horatio Jones was Moses Van Campen,\* who was born in 1757 in Hunterdon Co., New Jersey. Soon after his birth the family moved to Northampton Co., Pennsylvania, and located on the Delaware River; but in 1773, in company with a brother they moved to Northumberland Co., to the present town of Orange, about eight miles above the mouth of Fishing Creek. This stream enters the north branch of the Susquehanna, near the present town of Rupert, Columbia Co., the Fishing Creek country being one of the points where were the earliest settlements of the North Branch.

The Indian trail from the West Branch to Nescopeck crossed the divide several miles above Jerseytown, and an Indian town was located where Lycoming, Montour, and Columbia counties meet. Even after the whites began to occupy the soil in considerable numbers the savages clung tenaciously to that region which had been a favorite hunting ground. Among the pioneers of the Lower Fishing Creek were James McClure, Thomas Clayton, Peter Melick, Joseph Wheeler, Joseph Salmon, the Van Campens, Aikmans, McHenrys and others whose names have long been conspicuous in history.

"In 1775, two years subsequent to the advent of the Van

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\* "Life of Moses Van Campen" by J. N. Hubbard, B. A., Dansville, N. Y., 1842; revised and re-published at Billmore, N. Y., in 1893 by John S. Minard; Also "Petition of Van Campen to Congress" with affidavits of Horatio Jones; Bates' "History of Columbia Co., Pa." by C. F. Hill, Hazelton, Pa.; Stone's "Life of Brant," Sims' "History of Schoharie Co." and "Pioneers of the Genesee Valley."



Campens," says Bates, "George Whitmoyer,\* Michael Billimer and Daniel Welliner came from that region on the Delaware in New Jersey opposite Northampton Co., and crossing Eastern Pennsylvania to Harris' ferry, followed the Susquehanna and Frozen Duck, or Chillisquaque, to the Jerseytown valley.

"Whitmoyer settled a short distance above Jerseytown, Billimer located on Muddy Run, and Welliner fixed his residence on Whetstone Run."

Surrounded by these pioneer families, in a comfortable log cabin, Moses Van Campen matured into a sturdy young man, innured to the hardships of border life, skilled in woodcraft, and with a considerable acquaintance among the Indians, who frequented the region. He was a natural leader of men engaged in desperate enterprises. In 1776 he entered the Continental army as an ensign in the 12th Pennsylvania regiment, commanded by Col. Wm. Cook, and the following year became orderly sergeant of Capt. Gaskin's company in Col. Kelley's regiment. In 1778 he was a lieutenant of a company of six-months' men and in April built Fort Wheeler, on Fishing Creek, about three miles above its mouth. In 1779 Moses Van Campen was appointed quartermaster of General Sullivan's army, held that position during the expedition to the Genesee valley, and at the close of the campaign returned to Fort Wheeler, where his father and several neighbors still remained.

The Indians had been so completely routed by Sullivan that the Americans had little fear of further invasions, so in the spring of 1780 the Fishing Creek settlers determined to re-occupy their farms. Late in March Moses Van Campen's father and uncle left Fort Wheeler for their farms about two miles up the creek. They were accompanied by Moses, a young brother, a cousin also a lad, and Peter Pence, one of the most noted hunters and Indian fighters of the Susque-

\* The earliest form of this name that we find is "Witmer"; it was so spelled by the emigrant from Switzerland who reached Philadelphia in 1733. It has since had various forms. Mr. Harris usually wrote "Whitmoyer," as it is given in many records; the more modern form, "Whitmore," is used by Sarah Whitmore's granddaughter, Mrs. Sarah E. Gunn, in her narrative of the captivity, printed later on in this volume.



hanna region. Establishing a camp on each farm the parties began the work of reconstructing their houses. Not fearing any danger they were not armed, having with them but two rifles, one at each camp.

One of the first results of Guy Johnson's efforts to hasten the red men upon the warpath in the spring of 1780 was an expedition headed by Joseph Brant, that left Niagara in March. Proceeding to the Genesee, a number of people remained there, while the chief and forty-three Indians, and seventy Tory rangers, crossed the summit at the head of the Canaseraga and descended the Chemung to Tioga Point, where they joined detachments under John Mohawk and English, two noted chiefs, departing from there to ravage the Pennsylvania settlements. They continued in company down the Susquehanna to Meshoppen Creek, where the two bands separated. English, with six warriors, proceeded to the upper end of Wyoming valley, capturing Libbeus Hammond, a man named Bennett, and his young son. Retreating to Meshoppen Creek the party camped to await the return of the other detachment.

Chief English could talk with the prisoners in their own language; during the evening he began a conversation with Hammond. Among other matters he asked the latter if he had ever known Lieut. Boyd of Gen. Sullivan's army. Hammond replied that he was once intimately acquainted with that officer. English then produced a sword and drawing a blade from the scabbard handed it to Hammond with a smile of exultation, saying, "There is Boyd's sword." Hammond examined the weapon closely and discovered the initials T. B. stamped on the side near the hilt. English said he commanded the Indians lying in ambush for the advance of Sullivan's army the night Boyd was sent on as a scout. After describing in detail the capture of Boyd, Chief English continued: "We took Boyd prisoner and put him to death. We cut off his fingers and toes and plucked out his eyes, but Boyd neither asked for mercy nor uttered a complaint. Boyd was a brave man and as good a soldier as ever fought against the red men." After the recital of English the prisoners were securely bound and the warriors lay down to



sleep. At daylight a cold wind caused the Indians to loosen the prisoners, with orders to build a large fire. Six of the warriors again went to sleep, leaving one on guard. The prisoners determined to escape and watching their opportunity Hammond suddenly caught up a spear and thrust it through the body of the guard with such force that the breast bone closed on the spear head holding it firmly. The Indian fell forward on the fire with a yell and Hammond tugged at the spear to withdraw it. English sprang to his feet with a "Chee-who, chee-who." Bennett seized a tomahawk, buried it in the head of the chief and instantly followed up the blow by braining three others. Hammond now abandoned his spear and as the remaining two Indians had fled into the woods, he threw a tomahawk, severely wounding one in the shoulder. During the fight Bennett's son tried to shoot, but found the guns empty. The whites gathered up such things as they desired, including Boyd's sword, threw everything else into the fire and set out for their homes, where they arrived three days later.\*

After the departure of English and his party from Tioga Point, Mohawk with nine warriors went down the Susquehanna to the vicinity of Shawnee Flats, where they killed Asa Upson, and captured a boy named Jonah Rogers. Advancing to Fishing Creek the Indians killed the uncle of Moses Van Campen, captured the young son of the latter and Peter Pence. Shortly after they surprised and captured Moses Van Campen and killed his father and young brother. Continuing up Fishing Creek to the head of Hemlock Creek they captured a man named Abraham Pike, with his wife and child. "These," says Hubbard, "they stripped of all their clothing except a thin garment. One of the savages took the little one by the heels and swung it around with the intention of dashing out its brains against a tree. The infant screamed and the mother with a frantic shriek

\* Hubbard's "Life of Van Campen," Stone's "Life of Brant," "Annals of Binghamton" by J. B. Wilkinson, and statements to the writer by Asa P. Bovier of Elmira, a grandson of Hammond. While at a treaty at Elmira in 1790 Hammond saw the Indian whom he wounded with the tomahawk at Wyoming. Several years later Hammond gave the sword to Col. John Boyd, the former commander and fellow captive of Horatio Jones.





flew to its relief, catching hold of the warrior's arm. Chief Mohawk seeing the situation came up, took the child from the cruel wretch and gave it to the agonized mother. He then returned the clothing that had been torn from her and taking out his paint box painted his mark upon her face, pointed in the direction he wanted her to go, saying, 'Joggo, squaw.' She departed and arrived safely at Wyoming."

The Indians with Van Campen, Pence, Pike and the two boys continued their retreat to Meshoppen Creek, where they discovered the fate of English and his party. The faces of the warriors suddenly lighted up with passion and every move indicated their desire for revenge. Mohawk alone retained his composure; his utmost efforts were required to prevent the savages from immediately avenging their comrades by the torture of the prisoners. On reaching a point about fifteen miles from Tioga Point the party camped to wait the arrival of Brant.

Knowing they were doomed to torture and death Van Campen arranged with Pence and Pike to attempt escape. They planned to disarm the warriors while asleep. Pence was to take possession of the guns and fire, while Pike was to kill two on the left with a tomahawk and Van Campen the three on the right in a similar manner. That night the prisoners were bound as usual. "About midnight," says Van Campen, in his petition to Congress, "I got up and found them in a sound sleep. I slipped to Pence who arose; I cut him loose and he did the same by me; then I cut Pike loose; in a minute's time we disarmed the Indians. Pence took his station at the guns. Pike and myself with tomahawks took our stations. At that moment Pike's two awoke and were getting up. Here Pike proved a coward and lay down. It was a critical moment. I saw there was no time to lose; their heads turned up fair; I despatched them in a moment and turned to my lot as agreed. As I was about to dispatch the last one on my side of the fire, Pence shot and did good execution. There was only one at the off wing that his ball did not reach, a stout, daring fellow named Mohawk. At the alarm he jumped off about three rods from the fire; he saw it was the prisoners who made the attack;



giving the war-whoop he darted for the guns; I was quick to prevent him. The contest was then between him and myself. As I raised my tomahawk he turned quickly to jump from me; I followed and struck at him, but missing his head my tomahawk struck his shoulder, or rather the back of his neck. He pitched forward and fell; at the same time my foot slipped and I fell by his side. We clinched; his arm was naked; he caught me round my neck; I caught him with my left arm around the body and gave him a close hug, at the same time feeling for his knife, but could not reach it. In our scuffle my tomahawk dropped out. My head was under the wounded shoulder and I was almost suffocated with blood. I made a violent spring and broke from his hold; we both rose at the same time and he ran. It took me some time to clear the blood from my eyes. My tomahawk had got covered and I could not find it in time to overtake him. He was the only one of the party who escaped. Pike was powerless; he was trying to pray and Pence was swearing at him, charging him with cowardice, saying it was no time to pray, he ought to fight. We were masters of the ground. I then turned my attention to scalping them and recovered the scalps of my father and brother and others; I strung them on my belt for saiekeeping. We kept our ground till morning, built a raft and set sail for Wyoming. . . . The following day I went to Sunbury. . . . I was received with joy, my scalps were exhibited, the cannons were fired, etc."

After the departure of English and Mohawk from Tioga Point the main expedition under Brant proceeded to the head waters of the Delaware, where Capt. Alexander Harper and thirteen militia on April 7th were surprised in a sugar camp. Harper told Brant there was a large force of troops at Schoharie and so impressed the war chief that the latter decided to change his course and at once began a retreat. Descending the Delaware to Cook House flats where Jasper Parrish had previously been located, the expedition crossed over to Oquago, constructed rafts and floated down the Susquehanna to the Chemung where they were to meet the detachment of seventeen men. "Mohawk," says Sims, "was



occupying a little hut near Tioga Point, where the Minnecomb party were to await Brant's arrival, trying to heal his wound." "As the party under Brant drew near the place the war-whoop was sounded and soon answered by a pitiful howl—the death yell of the lone Indian." "The party halted in mute astonishment when Mohawk, with nine pair of moccasins taken from the feet of his dead comrades, came forward and related the adventures of himself and friends and the terrible disaster that had overtaken them all." "The effect upon the warriors who gathered in a group to hear the recital," says Stone, "was inexpressibly fearful. Rage and desire for revenge seemed to kindle every bosom and light every eye as with burning coals. They gathered round the prisoners in a circle and began to make unequivocal preparations for hacking them to pieces. Harper and his men gave themselves up for lost . . . but at this moment deliverance came from an unexpected quarter, . . . the only survivor of the murdered party rushed into the circle and interposed in favor of the captives. With a wave of the hand as from one entitled to be heard, for he was a chief, silence was restored and the prisoners were surprised by the utterance of an earnest appeal in their behalf."

Capt. Harper knew enough of the Indian language to understand its import. In substance the chief appealed to his brother warriors in favor of the prisoners upon the ground that it was not they who murdered their brothers; to take the lives of the innocent would not be right in the eyes of the Great Spirit. His appeal was effectual; the passions of the incensed warriors were hushed; their eyes no longer shot forth burning glances of revenge and their gesticulations ceased to menace immediate and bloody revenge. "True . . . the chief who had thus thrown himself spontaneously between them and death knew all the prisoners, he having resided in the Schohara canton of the Mohawks before the war. He doubtless felt a deeper interest in their welfare on that account; still it was a noble action worthy of the proudest era of chivalry and in the palmy days of Greece and Rome would have insured him 'an apotheosis and rites divine'. . . . The prisoners were



so impressed with the manner of their deliverance that they justly attributed it to a direct interposition of the providence of God."

Brant conducted the prisoners to Fort Niagara and delivered them to Col. Butler. The feat of Van Campen and Pence was noised abroad and all the Indian nations in the service of the King condemned them as national enemies. Their names were repeated from lip to lip and lodge to lodge and with the view of discovering one or both of them every white prisoner taken by the Indians for many months was subjected to a rigid examination.

Besides the expedition headed by Brant, a second war-party composed entirely of Indians and including warriors from several nations, was organized on the Genesee in March, 1780. Leaving Little Beard's Town prior to the arrival of Brant's expedition and descending to the Susquehanna by a more westerly route, the party reached the lower Fishing Creek valley on the same day that Mohawk's band captured Moses Van Campen and his friends. Billimer and Welliner, who early realized their exposed situation, in good time retreated to one of the forts, but George Whitmoyer either continued to reside at his farm, or had returned to it, before the arrival of the war-party. It was Easter morning. The Whitmoyses awoke unconscious of the terrible danger that menaced them. Two girls, Catharine and Ann, aged fourteen and twelve, started out before daylight to secure the sap flowing in a sugar bush. Philip, the eldest son, partially dressed, was kneeling on the hearth of the great fireplace endeavoring to kindle the smoldering embers into flame. Suddenly the door was thrown open and a yell rent the air. The half-dazed boy turned his head to learn the cause and, as he glanced over his shoulder, the painted form of a half-naked savage with uplifted tomahawk, met his horrified gaze. Mr. Whitmoyer comprehending the situation, sprang out of bed and reached for his rifle to shoot the intruder, who stood for one moment undecided whether to strike the father or son; but a shot through the half open door stretched the brave pioneer lifeless on the floor; before Philip had time to move the keen tomahawk of the savage





was buried in his brain; his scalp was torn off and his mother tomahawked in her bed.

Meeting no resistance, the savages searched the house and secured Sarah, aged seventeen; Mary, ten; Peter, eight; George, six; John, four years, and an infant. Taking such plunder as they desired the Indians emptied the beds upon the fire and the humble homestead was speedily enveloped in flames. The smoke from the burning cabin and the whoop of the savages warned the children in the sugar bush of the loss of home and relatives. Realizing that their own safety was threatened, and that they were utterly unable to render assistance to the dear ones, they hastily concealed themselves.\*

Knowing that an avenging force would speedily follow them, the savages gathered up their plunder, thrust each captive child upon a horse in front of a warrior and hurriedly retreated northward. The children, being mounted, were saved the fatigue of travel and the Indians were thus enabled to journey at a more rapid rate than was usually maintained in a retreat with prisoners. The eldest girl, Sarah, or Sally as she was familiarly called, had secured the babe at the death of the mother, and, clasping it closely in her arms, soothed it to rest. When placed on a horse Sally still held the child, which became frightened and began to cry, whereupon the Indian with whom they were riding struck it a heavy blow that only increased its cries.

Becoming enraged, the savage seized the child by one of its feet, swung it about his head and brained it on the nearest tree. Sally struggled to save the babe or to rescue its lifeless body hastily thrown upon the ground. She received brutal warning to desist if she wished to escape a similar fate. For the sake of the other children whom she considered her own charge, she stifled the agony in her heart and endeavored to obey. Being well mounted the Indians pushed forward, distancing any pursuers, and making only

\* The following day a party of rangers visited the ruins and buried the dead; the graves on the old road from Jerseytown to Washingtonville being still pointed out by descendants of the early settlers. Three days later some friends searched the sugar bush and discovered the two girls safe in their place of concealment.



the briefest stops until they passed the borders of New York. Then they halted for a rest and assembled in council to settle the fate of their captives. It being the policy to increase their numbers by prisoners, especially by the adoption of children, Mary and Peter were assigned to their Mohawk captors and taken to Brant's town at Niagara; George and John were claimed by Senecas, who had established homes at Tonawanda, while Sarah was separated from the others and sent to a family living at Deonindagao, or Little Beard's Town.\*

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#### IX. PIGEONS AND PRISONERS—VAN CAMPEN AGAIN.

Soon after Horatio's return from Niagara his mother decided to visit her brother, Gy-ant-wa-chia, or Cornplanter, who had settled on the Allegheny River. In order to obtain supplies, the family first journeyed to Fort Niagara and thence to their old camping ground at Devil's Hole. After leaving this camp the hunter's family returned to Buffalo Creek, and continued on through Cattaraugus to Cornplanter's town, on the Allegheny. Soon after their arrival a runner came in shouting, "Yu-ak-oo-was, yu-ak-oo-was!" ("Pigeons, pigeons!") He said the birds had roosted in a wood on the Genesee River, about two days' journey above Caneadea village.

All was now bustle and confusion, and every person in the village who could bear the fatigue of travel at once set out for the Genesee. On their arrival at the place designated by the runner, Jones beheld a sight that he never forgot. The pigeons, in numbers too great to estimate, had made their temporary homes in a thick forest. Each tree and branch bore nests on every available spot. The birds had exhausted every species of nesting material in the vicinity, including the small twigs of the trees, and the ground was as bare as though swept with a broom. The eggs were hatching and thousands of squabs filled the nests. Every

\* For an account of her captivity, see the narrative by Mrs. S. E. Gunn, a great-granddaughter of Sarah Whitmoyer and Horatio Jones, in this volume.



morning the parent birds rose from the roost, the noise of their wings sounding like continuous rolls of distant thunder, as flock after flock soared away to obtain food. A little before noon they began to return to feed their young; then arose a deafening chorus of shrill cries as the awkward younglings stood up in the nests with wide open mouths uttering their calls of hunger. Soon after noon the old birds departed again to return about sunset, when they came in such dense flocks as to darken the woods. All night long the sound of breaking branches caused by overloading the roosts, and the whirl and flutter of falling birds trying to regain their foothold, disturbed the usual silence of the forest.

As the annual nesting of the pigeons was a matter of great importance to the Indians, who depended largely upon the supply of food thus obtained, runners carried the news to every part of the Seneca territory, and the inhabitants, singly and in bands, came from as far east as Seneca Lake and as far north as Lake Ontario. Within a few days several hundred men, women and children gathered in the locality of the pigeon woods. Among those who came were a dozen or more captive whites, with several of whom Jones had some acquaintances. One of these captives, a Dutchman named Smith Houser, was a simple-minded fellow whom Jones had befriended on various occasions, thus winning his friendship. For their temporary accommodation the people erected habitations of a primitive style, consisting mainly of huts constructed by setting up two crotched stakes on top of which a pole was laid. Other poles were placed against the ridge, three or four on each side, with the lower ends resting on the ground. One or two poles were then tied across the others parallel with the ridge-pole and to these were fastened long over-lapping sheets of bark forming tent-shaped huts with one open end that was closed at night by curtains of skins and blankets. This form of cabin was easily erected in a short time, and afforded a fair shelter to the occupants during the brief period of their stay.

The Indians cut down the roosting trees to secure the birds, and each day thousands of squabs were killed. Fires



were made in front of the cabins and bunches of the dressed birds were suspended on poles sustained by crotched sticks, to dry in the heat and the smoke. When properly cured they were packed in bags or baskets for transportation to the home towns. It was a festival season for the red men and even the meanest dog in camp had his fill of pigeon meat.

In addition to the families at the pigeon woods, forty warriors on their way from Fort Niagara southward, halted there for a few days to enjoy the sport and obtain a supply of cured birds for food on their journey.

Upon his return to Northumberland after the massacre of Mohawk's band, Moses Van Campen reëntered the service as lieutenant in a company commanded by Capt. Thomas Robinson. On the 16th of April, 1782, while out on Bald Eagle Creek with twenty-five men, Van Campen was attacked by eighty-five Indians under Hudson and Shongo, assisted by Lieut. Nelles and a platoon of Butler's Rangers. Nine of Van Campen's men were killed, three escaped, and the rest, including Van Campen, surrendered to Nelles. The savages then began to murder the wounded prisoners, killed two and assaulted a third, when Van Campen interfered and struck a warrior a blow that knocked him senseless. Some of the Indians at once attacked the lieutenant, but others who admired his courageous act interposed to save him; a terrible struggle took place between the two factions; the admirers of Van Campen saved his life.

The surviving soldiers were stripped of all clothing but their pantaloons. Van Campen's commission containing his name and rank was in a silken case suspended from his neck by a ribbon. The Indians secured the case and tore off the ribbon but as none of them could read and neither Nelles nor his men happened to see it, it was left upon the ground, so none of the party was aware that their long-looked-for enemy was in custody. Placing heavy packs of plunder upon the prisoners, the savages crossed the Susquehanna at Big Island, made their way across the hills to Pine Creek above the first fork, which they followed up to the third fork, took the most northerly branch to its head, crossed the Genesee, and in two days' journey down that stream ar-





rived at the pigeon woods, where they camped a short distance from the huts of the Indians with whom was Horatio Jones. The prisoners were naked, except their pantaloons, but Van Campen had in addition an old blanket given him by one of the warriors. His name was still unknown to his captors, but the band had scarcely halted before he noticed that the attention of all the people was upon himself. He was soon taken to the camp of the outgoing war-party for examination.

"Upon coming up to the warriors," says Hubbard, "Van Campen was made to sit on one side of the fire between the rows of cabins where he could be seen by all who wished to gratify their pride or curiosity in beholding him as a trophy of their awful warfare. But he was no less curious than they in surveying the forms that met his eyes, for he was interested in knowing whether among those that were before him there could be the Indian with whom he had a severe encounter when making his escape in April, 1780; yet he nowhere saw anything of the warrior Mohawk and he began to feel a little more at ease."

Upon the arrival at the pigeon woods of Nelles and his party, with Van Campen and his men, Jones was at a distance and while coming leisurely to camp ran upon Houser, who was talking aloud to himself in an excited and unguarded manner: "Vot for dot Van Camp vot killed the Injuns comes among us! Now we'll all be burnt every tarn bugger of us. Yes, we will, dots vot, oney way!"

"Tut, tut," said Jones, in a low voice. "What's the matter, Houser?"

"Vy, Van Camp what killed the Injuns is here and we'll all be burnt to the stake, so sure as my gun was a firelock, oney vay!"

"Stop, stop," said Horatio, looking cautiously about to see if others were near. "How do you know that the man who killed the Indians is here?"

Houser answered that a party had just come in with prisoners, that he went to see the captives and recognized one as an old acquaintance named Elisha Hunt. That he spoke to "Lish," who said that he belonged to Van Campen's



company and that that officer was now among the prisoners. Jones was astonished at the information. He was familiar with the story of Van Campen's marvelous escape and by direction of the chiefs had occasionally asked questions of prisoners regarding the redoubtable frontiersman, but of late the topic had not been mentioned. As he stood a moment in deep thought, Houser said: "Dat's Lish Hunt vot stands by der dree yonder," at the same time pointing to one of the groups of prisoners, surrounded by men, women and children, all staring at the wretched militiamen.

"See here, Houser," said Horatio, with an earnestness that startled the Dutchman, "Don't you stir a foot nor speak a word till I come back." Then he walked over to the group and approached Hunt, who was a little apart from his comrades. There was nothing in the appearance of Jones to distinguish him from the Indians about him. He was clad in full Indian costume and his bronzed features were about as dark as the faces of many of his red associates. Without seeming to notice the soldier he spoke to the latter in a low voice.

"Elisha Hunt, if you men do not wish to be burned alive at once, do not tell any one of the name of your captain. Caution your comrades."

Before the militiaman could speak, Jones disappeared in the crowd, then returned to Houser. The latter was in great fear and Horatio purposely increased his distress. "I don't believe the man who killed the Indians is here, Houser," he said, "but if our people once get that idea in their heads they will surely kill us all. Now if anyone speaks to you about these men you must lie like the deuce, and stick to it too, or you will be tortured to death by fire; you keep close to me where I can see you every moment, and when the Indians ask you any questions answer 'Te-quá' ('I don't know')\* and do not speak another word; and Houser," continued Jones, stepping close to the Dutchman and speaking in a stern tone that caused the unhappy fellow to start as though struck by a blow, "If you ever tell a person of this conversation *I will kill you.*" The desired effect was pro-

\* Allen's narrative.



duced upon the simple-minded man, who promised strictly to obey Jones in every particular. This incident had occupied but a short time and without attracting the attention of others, and Horatio, closely followed by Houser, proceeded directly to the camp where "the man who killed the Indians" had previously been taken.

"During the time Van Campen was sitting by the fire," continues his biographer, "the warriors were standing in a group not far distant, engaged in earnest conversation, the subject of which he supposed to be himself. Presently the conversation ceased, the crowd opened and a person of noble proportions came slowly forth. In color and garb he was an Indian, but these were all that gave him claim to be a savage warrior. He came to Van Campen and commenced questioning him concerning that part of the frontier from which he had been taken, inquired about the number and condition of the inhabitants, the manner in which they were defended, the number and vigilance of their scouts, etc." "The captive officer gave correct answers to all of these questions except the one respecting the strength of the force guarding the settlements: this he represented as being much greater than it was, to discourage them, if possible, from visiting the frontier. He said the country about Northumberland was very strongly garrisoned with troops and that large numbers of scouts were sent in every direction to discover and waylay any Indians who might be sent against them. He was next directed to mark out with a coal, upon a piece of bark, the course of streams emptying into the Susquehanna, the situation of forts and the paths pursued by scouts. In marking down the courses of streams and the location of the forts Van Campen observed accuracy of statement for he knew that the Indians were as well acquainted as himself with these matters. He expected that his exactness in this would lead them to give more credit to that part of his story in which he desired to exaggerate. Executing his work promptly and correctly he showed them on his little bark map the situation of the forts and routes of the scouting parties, again giving them a very large idea of the number of soldiers and preparations of the



settlers to receive an attack." In the questions asked him Van Campen observed that the subject of his identity was not broached. This fact was not surprising as it was a custom of the Indians never to inquire the name of a person of himself. When the examination was ended a chief asked the interpreter if he knew of the officer. He threw a careless glance at Van Campen and replied in an indifferent manner, "I never saw the man before." Houser was standing near watching the proceedings. At that instant Jones caught the eye of the Dutchman and the latter blubbered out "Te-qua, te-qua." His distress was so evident and his weakness so well understood that the warriors laughed at his needless fears. Every other white captive was called forward to look at the prisoner. Fortunately all were strangers and unable to identify him. "Immediately after the examination," says Hubbard, "the Indian interpreter by whom Van Campen had been questioned, came up to him and said in a rather low voice, 'There is only one besides myself in this company that knows anything about you.' Van Campen replied rather sternly, 'And what do you know about me, sir?' 'Why, you are the man who killed the Indians!' Van Campen's thoughts were then turned to the fire and tomahawk, supposing that since he was known he would certainly fall a victim to savage barbarity. He enquired the name of the one who was standing by his side and was answered 'Horatio Jones.' The interpreter then spoke, 'Do not be discouraged, sir, for I too am a prisoner and a white man in blood and sympathy. You can be assured of my silence and friendship.' Van Campen quickly looked up; stern warrior that he was, the moisture came to his eyes as he exclaimed with heartfelt fervor, 'Those are the sweetest words I ever heard spoken.' As the interpreter gave renewed assurances of secrecy promising to use his influence in behalf of the other prisoners, Van Campen felt his courage revive. Jones told him that the Tories and Indians were well informed concerning the destruction of Mohawk's men and the slightest suspicion of his identity would certainly result in his torture. If he could pass through to Niagara undiscovered and be consigned to the British there was hope for him, otherwise





there was none. He must trust in Providence and be brave."

This language and the earnest manner of the interpreter inspired Van Campen with the belief that he was in the presence of a friend in whom he could repose perfect confidence. Yet he was not then aware of the extent of his obligations to Jones, nor of the decided action the latter had taken to suppress the report of his presence in camp; a fact that he soon after learned of Elisha Hunt.

The party remained at the pigeon woods only two days, their departure being hastened through some stratagem of Jones, known only to himself. During that time he was cautious in his communications with the prisoners lest his actions arouse suspicion; yet he managed to hold considerable conversation with Van Campen who parted from him with deep emotion. "Under Providence, Sir," he said, wringing Horatio's brown hand, "I owe my life to you, and so long as I live I shall bear your kindness in earnest remembrance."

Continuing down the Genesee to Canadea Van Campen and all his men were then compelled to run the gauntlet to the same house where so many others had sought refuge in similar trials. Canadea being the home village of the expedition the prisoners were divided there. Elisha Hunt and one or two others were taken by their captors to Little Beard's Town. The warriors claiming Van Campen under escort of Nelles and his rangers, took the trail to Niagara where the American officer was delivered to the British.

Jones remained at the pigeon woods with the company from Cornplanter's settlement and part of the war-party lingered engaged in the sport of catching pigeons. One day an Indian, travel-stained and exhausted arrived in camp. The warriors were hastily summoned to his presence and recognized the brave chieftain Mohawk. He informed them that while on an expedition near Bald Eagle Creek he had learned of the defeat of Van Campen's company and the capture of that officer and several of his men. Leaving his own band Mohawk started on the trail of Nelles and with the briefest possible stops for food and rest had followed the party to the pigeon woods.



Standing up before the astonished warriors Mohawk related the thrilling story of the massacre, described the struggle between Van Campen and himself, and striding back and forth like a caged tiger, his black eyes glowing with anger, he tore the blanket from his back, pointed to a deep scar in his left shoulder saying, "This was made by Van Campen with my own ax and this"—holding a tomahawk up to view—"is the weapon." The warriors were greatly enraged at Mohawk's recital and furious on learning that the man they so fervently hated had passed safely through their hands. Their first thought was that he could have escaped detection only by the assistance of some one among themselves. As communication with Van Campen had been held mainly through Jones, the latter was brought before the chiefs and sternly questioned regarding his knowledge of the prisoners. As he saw the glowering faces about him his heart grew heavy and he fully believed he was doomed to death. Knowing the general good feeling of the people towards himself and their confidence in his word he determined to face the matter boldly and not make a direct reply unless forced to a positive answer. "You were all present when the prisoner was examined and heard the talk," said he quietly. "I told you what the man said and you heard it." "But did you not know that the officer you examined was Van Campen who murdered our brothers?" they said. "How should I know?" retorted Jones with an air of surprise. "I never heard of Van Campen until after I came among you, now going on two summers; and I told you truly at the time the man was examined that I had never seen him before. How should I know any better than you who the prisoner might be? Did any of you think to ask the officer his name? If I had known Van Campen do you think I would now tell and have you kill me? Do you want me to lie?" Pausing a moment to observe the effect of his words Horatio proceeded to greater lengths. Straightening up and looking the chiefs full in the face with the manner and tone those who knew him feared he demanded, "Who says I knew the prisoner?" Captive though he was Jones'



reputation as one not only physically able to defend himself but also as one who never hesitated to swiftly avenge an insult, now aided him greatly. His calm manner and determined attitude silenced all open expression regarding his knowledge of the prisoner. If not entirely satisfied the Indians were prompt to announce their confidence in his integrity. "Hoc-sa-go-wah speaks like a man," said the head chief. "His tongue is not forked; his words are full of reason. How should he know Van Campen any better than we? Hah-ne-go-ate-geh \* placed a spell before our eyes." Fleet runners were sent to Canéadea and others sent on the north-western trail with instructions to bring Van Campen back to the Genesee. The messengers reached Niagara only to learn that the object of their hatred was safe within the walls of the fortress and that Col. Butler had adopted him into his own family.

The news spread through all the Indian camps. They assembled in large numbers about the fort and offered to exchange fourteen other white captives, then held in the Genesee towns, for Van Campen. Col. Butler refused the offer and sent Van Campen to Montreal where he was exchanged.

Mohawk was too exhausted by his forced march from the Susquehanna to the Genesee to proceed farther than the pigeon woods. There he remained in camp several days awaiting news from the runners sent to Niagara. Jones talked with the chief regarding his struggle with Van Campen, obtained his version of the affair and ingratiated himself into Mohawk's good graces. The tomahawk that had borne so fearful a part in the massacre possessed a peculiar fascination for the interpreter and as the handle was broken he finally induced Mohawk to sell it. The weapon was of French manufacture, had been obtained by Mohawk in the old French war and carried through many a bloody fray. Unlike the usual form of Indian belt axes it was of the knife blade pattern. The top was hollow forming the bowl of a pipe and the handle bored to serve as a stem. Jones re-

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\* The evil-minded spirit.



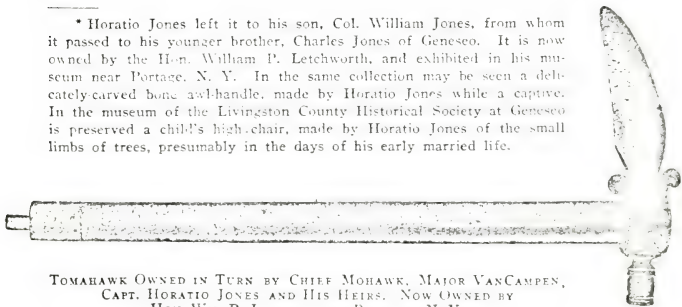
placed the handle with a new one and thereafter the noted war ax adorned his own belt.\*

## X. EXPEDITIONS—THE WITCH OF THE TONAWANDA.

No further reference was made to the part taken by Jones at the examination of Van Campen and the interpreter congratulated himself upon his success in evading the questions addressed to himself; but the Indians determined to test his sincerity in a manner wholly unexpected. To his astonishment they proposed that he accompany the outgoing expedition to the Susquehanna. Horatio fully understood the reason of the proposition and as he had decided to remain with the Indians he was pleased with the opportunity to demonstrate his loyalty to them, and what was of greater importance in his view, the probable opportunity to assist such of his countrymen as might fall into the hands of the savages. With the concurrence of his family he promptly accepted the proposal and joined the ranks of the war party.

The object of the expedition was to attack the forts in Northumberland, but the story told by Van Campen about large garrisons of soldiers, caused the leaders on the way down to change their plans and strike farther west into Bedford County. "Jones however," says Hon. Orlando Allen in

\* Horatio Jones left it to his son, Col. William Jones, from whom it passed to his younger brother, Charles Jones of Geneseo. It is now owned by the Hon. William P. Letchworth, and exhibited in his museum near Portage, N. Y. In the same collection may be seen a delicately-carved bone awl-handle, made by Horatio Jones while a captive. In the museum of the Livingston County Historical Society at Geneseo is preserved a child's high-chair, made by Horatio Jones of the small limbs of trees, presumably in the days of his early married life.



TOMAHAWK OWNED IN TURN BY CHIEF MOHAWK, MAJOR VANCAMPEN, CAPT. HORATIO JONES AND HIS HEIRS. NOW OWNED BY HON. WM. P. LETCHWORTH, PORTAGE, N. Y.





his excellent account received from the interpreter's own lips, "was not permitted to go into the settlement, but was left at a camp several hours' march back from the point of intended attack. In relating the circumstances in later years Jones said he had no idea nor desire to escape, for he had become so fascinated with Indian life that he wished to remain with them. He was fond of adventure and the hope of being of service to such prisoners as might be taken, overcame any scruples he might otherwise have had. It was ever after a source of gratification and a pleasing reflection to him that he accompanied the expedition as he was undoubtedly, under Providence, the means of saving the lives of some of his former neighbors and acquaintances who were made prisoners and from whom he obtained the first information regarding his own family that he had received during his captivity."

While the warriors informed Horatio that he would not be permitted to enter the settlements no other restraint was placed upon his actions. His conduct thoroughly satisfied the Indians of his honest intentions to remain with them, thereby advancing him greatly in public estimation. His duties as interpreter rendered him a conspicuous figure in the communications between the red and white man and his influence with the prisoners induced them to yield quietly to their fate and cause as little trouble to their captors as possible. Appreciating this fact the savages treated the whites with unusual leniency, permitting them considerable liberty of action. "One prisoner who was badly wounded failed to keep up with the party. . . . The Indians repeatedly threatened him and Jones as often begged them to spare him a little longer; perhaps he might revive and be able to proceed on the journey; but they became impatient and annoyed at the delay the man was beginning to occasion, and a warrior dispatched the wounded prisoner with a club, tore off his scalp and left him where he fell. By carefully using their strength the other prisoners accomplished the journey and reached the Indian town on the Genesee in safety."

Horatio had hardly recovered from the fatigue of the ex-



pedition when Hah-do-wes-go-wah's restless disposition incited him to visit relatives who had recently removed to the Grand River in Canada.

Placing the broom against the door as usual on leaving the habitation alone, the family set out on the journey, going by way of Little Beard's Town and the great spring in the present town of Caledonia, where they witnessed the torture of a prisoner at the stake. Years afterwards Jones pointed out the location of the torture stake and told how the superstitious natives thereafter avoided the spot believing that the spirit of the murdered victim still haunted the locality. Passing through Tonawanda\* the family followed down the south bank of the creek to its mouth where a canoe was usually kept for the accommodation of travelers. The little craft lay on the opposite side of the stream in plain sight and Horatio offered to swim across and bring it over.

"Deh-wi-ya!" ("It is not good") his father replied, "for witches live in the stream near its mouth, and when people venture into its waters they are pulled under its surface and drowned. No wise person ever attempts to swim the Tonawanda Creek at this point. It is better to wait until some one comes this way and brings the canoe to us."

"That may be true of the red men," replied Horatio, "but I was born in a nation of people who can control witches in water. I have the secret and can swim the creek in safety and bring the canoe back, besides you know our friends at Fort Schlosser expect us to-night and we are all anxious to get there."

At this point the mother interposed. "Mind your father, my son," said she, "he is a man of years and sense and will not counsel you wrongly. It is better to remain here in safety than to tempt the evil spirits. Go help your brothers gather wood for the night while your sister and I prepare supper." Indian children are subject to their parents as long as they remain under the parental roof, even to middle age, and Horatio was usually obedient to the slightest command; but he especially disliked the idea of camping on the creek to satisfy a superstitious whim. He turned aside care-

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\* The old Indian village near the great bend of the Tonawanda.



lessly but the sight of the canoe lying so temptingly on the farther shore aroused his impatience. Hastily slipping off his frock and moccasins he plunged into the water and struck out for the opposite bank despite the warning cries and commands of his family, none of whom dare follow him. To their astonishment he reached the bank, jumped into the canoe and with a few vigorous strokes of the paddle brought it back to them. A person who had passed through the greatest danger could not have been received with greater demonstrations of pleasure than those that greeted the headstrong young man as he stepped ashore in his dripping leggings. His act of disobedience was utterly ignored and he was welcomed as one who had escaped only by a miracle. The preparations for camping were discontinued and the half built fire abandoned.

Crossing in the canoe the family reached Schlosser that evening. Hoc-sa-go-wah's wonderful feat in swimming the witch-troubled Tonawanda was narrated to friends, the strange story spread through the camp and the swimmer speedily found himself regarded with increased respect. From Schlosser the family went down the river to Fort Niagara where the witch incident was already well known, and operated to his advantage.

Notwithstanding the bitterness engendered by war and the frightful results of employing savages to devastate the homes of the Americans, there were many men in British service whose efforts to mitigate the sufferings of unfortunate prisoners have never been properly recognized. While Col. Butler by the surrender of Boyd and Parker dishonored his manhood he also, in numerous other cases, exhibited noteworthy forbearance and generosity towards persons with whom he might have dealt harshly. Capt. Powell, Robinson, Pye, Lieutenants Hillyard, Nelles and other officers at Niagara, frequently made strenuous efforts to obtain the release of captives in whose wretched condition they had no interest other than that sympathy excited by the distress of a fellow mortal. When persuasion failed to effect their benevolent purposes these officers did not hesitate to spend their money to ransom prisoners whose circumstance forbade the



possibility of any future recompense; they sometimes made long journeys through the wilderness on foot to relieve despairing captives.

Capt. Powell, an officer whose loyalty to the British crown was never questioned, had interested himself in the ransom of several prisoners and previous to the Tonawanda incident had purchased two captives whom Hah-do-wes-go-wah had brought in from the frontier. His attention was called to Jones, probably by Jasper Parrish through his father Capt. Hill, and while the family was at Niagara offered to buy the "handsome boy." Hah-do-wes-go-wah declined the offer. After urging the matter quite persistently, Capt. Powell displayed a handful of gold saying that his master the King had great store of the precious coin and could buy anything his servants wished; the warrior must state his price and the gold would be at once paid. Meeting a more decided refusal Capt. Powell demanded the reason. The warrior said Hoc-sa-go-wah had been of great service, not only to himself, but also to the entire Seneca nation. Though young, his wisdom was superior to that of many older men and his relatives in the clan had decided he should thereafter sit in council with the chiefs. He then told of the Tonawanda feat, adding that though the power exercised over witches by the handsome boy was a qualification no other person possessed there was a better reason why he could not be bought. "We believe," said he, "that Ha-we-ne-ya sent this boy to us as a special gift for the good of the Seneca nation, and he cannot be taken from our people until the Great Spirit so directs. We have adopted him according to our custom and he is considered by all our people one of my own children. Go, tell your master the King that he is not rich enough to buy Hoc-sa-go-wah. A Seneca will not sell his own blood!" To prevent further discussion Hah-do-wes-go-wah pulled his blanket over his head and strode hastily away, leaving the generous officer astonished at the vagaries of Indian nature.





## XI. HORATIO A CHIEF—SARAH WHITMORE'S CAPTIVITY.

At the organization of the league of the Iroquois the Senecas were granted eight sachems, ranking as follows:

1. Gä-ne-o-di-go, Handsome lake, . . . . . Turtle clan
2. Sa-da-ga-o-yase, Level heavens, . . . . . Snipe "
3. Ga-no-gi-e, . . . . . Turtle "
4. Lă-geh-jo-wă, Great forehead, . . . . . Hawk "
5. La-de-a-no-wus, Assistant, . . . . . Bear "
6. Nis-hă-ne-a-nent, Falling day, . . . . . Snipe "
7. Gä-no-go-e-dă-we, Hair burned off, . . . . . Snipe "
8. Do-ne-ho-gă-weh, Open door, . . . . . Wolf "

These titular names were hereditary in five clans. When a sachem died a successor was elected from the same clan, his name was taken away, the name of the sachem conferred upon him, and he was raised up by a ceremony of the great council. The Seneca nation was termed Ho-nan-ne-ho-ont, Doorkeeper of the league, and the eighth sachem was the official doorkeeper and great military commander of the nation. The sachems as a council ruled the nation. They were termed officially Ho-yar-na-go-war.

Subsequent to the foundation of the league there came into prominence a class of men known as chiefs. The office of chief was a reward of merit and died with the individual. Each of the eight clans of the Senecas was entitled to ten chiefs, who were elected by the members of the individual clans. The national council raised the new chiefs to office, and the great council of the confederacy either confirmed the election or deposed the person.

Soon after the refusal of Hah-do-wes-go-wah to sell Horatio, the latter was summoned before a meeting of the members of the Hawk clan, then at Niagara, who informed him that his relatives had elected him a chief. He was accordingly raised to the office under the name of Tă-yă-da-o-woh-koh.\*

\* This is a compound word and signifies "lying across." I think that this was the last Indian name borne by Capt. Jones: at any rate it is the only name I have heard given by Indians who knew him during his last years. I conclude it was regarded as an honored name for they conferred it upon the late Dr.



Jones was amazed at the announcement. Brought to the wilderness a helpless captive as he had been, adopted by force, he had received from those parents the same treatment they had bestowed upon their own children. Under their care he had passed from boyhood to manhood; though nominally a prisoner his liberty was unrestrained and all the Senecas looked upon him as one of themselves. This election to a seat among the councilors was very gratifying and confirmed his high standing among the proud Iroquois as expressed in the new name bestowed upon him. Again he admitted to himself that the trend of events was in accordance with his own wishes. Concealing his emotions, he quietly thanked his friends for their action and again assured them he would remain with them until it was clearly manifested to all that it was the will of Ha-we-ne-ya that he should leave them.

Of the captive life of Sally Whitmoyer—or Whitmore—we have little knowledge. Upon her arrival at the Genesee in April, 1780, she was adopted by a Seneca family whose home was at Little Beard's Town; but like other Indian households the members were frequently moving about from place to place. In after days Sally mentioned their wanderings up and down the Genesee valley and spoke especially of their camping at the late town-site of Williamsburg and Squakie Hill. While she endured the hardships incident to nomadic life in common with her forest associates she was treated not only kindly, but affectionately, by her Indian relatives, who provided for her as for one of themselves. Her sex precluded the possibility of distinction and her existence was circumscribed by the simple duties incident to an Indian girl's home life. At the age of twenty she was a light-complexioned girl of medium height. Her

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Lewis H. Morgan at his adoption at Tonawanda. General Ely S. Parker in a letter to the writer Aug. 19, 1891, gave the name "Do-ne-ho-ga-wa," Door-keeper of the Seneca nation. Horatio Jones was called "To-yah-daoh-wok-go," which means "lying across." Lewis Bennett, a contemporary of Horatio Jones, gave it as "Dah-yah-daoh-woh-koh," or "lying across." Chester C. Lay, president of the Seneca Nation in 1888, gave it as "Da-ha-ya-dah-woh-goh." "A body lying across," as a parent holds a child in its arms, so the bearer of the name connected the Senecas and the whites, or constituted the bond between them.—G. H. H.



hair was gathered in a heavy braid, its glossy smoothness confined by a simple band in native fashion; her whole attire was marked by a neatness so characteristic of the pioneer woman of her time. She had become well versed in the Seneca tongue and her gentle manners had won the affection of those within her limited circle of acquaintances.

It was a rule of native etiquette that any female who appeared alone in public, thus invited attention, but no girl or woman having an attendant, even if it were but a little child, was ever noticed or molested. Sarah Whitmoyer preferred the modest retirement of her humble home and to avoid publicity never left the house with uncovered head or without a companion—generally one of her Indian relatives. While her own brothers and sisters were becoming thoroughly Indianized in their Iroquois homes, and the younger ones were forgetting their parentage and the English language, Sarah longed for the scenes and faces familiar to her youth. The rude life of the wilderness shared with savages was distasteful. She knew that peace would soon be declared and she prayed that the glad day of deliverance from captivity might be hastened.\*

[Sought in marriage by a native, Sarah turned for counsel to her fellow-captive, Horatio Jones. Some time before this, it would appear, he had taken to wife an Indian woman; she had either died, or left him, before he met Sarah Whitmore. Jones had a son by the Seneca woman, who, in accordance with custom, remained with his mother's clan. One may believe that it was a stronger feeling than pity which prompted Horatio to point out to the white girl that her only escape from an Indian alliance was to wed him. She assenting they were duly joined in Indian fashion, by her acceptance of his gift, which he made larger and more valuable than the offering of the Indian rival. When opportunity offered, they were married by a Christian ceremony, performed by the Rev. Samuel Kirkland.]

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\* To avoid repetition of facts presented in Mrs. Gunn's account of Sarah's captivity, Indian wooing and marriage with Horatio Jones, Mr. Harris's narrative has been considerably condensed, the bracketed sentences being supplied by the editor to preserve continuity.



A preliminary treaty of peace was signed at Paris November 30, 1782, but incursions upon the borders of New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia continued until the spring of 1783, when an agreement for the cessation of hostilities ended the war, and the Indians, sheathing their scalping knives, resumed their ordinary occupations. By the treaty finally signed Sept. 3d, Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States and agreed that the boundaries of the United States, roughly stated, extended northward to the Great Lakes and westward to the Mississippi; all territory west of that river being recognized as the property of Spain.

Notwithstanding the faithful service the Iroquois had rendered Great Britain during the war, that power made no provision for her red allies, leaving them to the mercies of the conquerors. The agreement of Sir Guy Carleton at the opening of the war, to reinstate those Indians who entered the service of the King to their former condition, was ratified by General Haldimand in 1779. With the exception of the Oneidas, Tuscaroras and a few scattering members of other nations, the Iroquois had espoused the British cause and the eastern nations were exiled from their former homes; but the Senecas, located in the wilderness, far from the borders of civilization, still retained possession of their own territory.

When the terms of peace were announced and the Iroquois learned that the British Government had made no provision for them, the Senecas offered their exiled brethren a tract of land in the Genesee valley; the offer was declined and Joseph Brant visited Quebec to claim from Haldimand the fulfillment of his promise. The General agreed to give the Mohawks a tract at the Bay of Quinté on Lake Ontario, but the Senecas were greatly displeased at the idea of their friends being located so far away. At Brant's renewed solicitation Gen. Haldimand purchased for the British Indians a new tract six miles wide on each side of the Grand River, in Canada, extending from its mouth on Lake Erie to its source, about 100 miles away. The Senecas continued





quietly in occupation of their own territory, awaiting with grave concern the action of the American Government.

By the treaty of 1783 England relinquished her claim to all Indian lands within the limits of the United States. New York asserted her right, as the natural successor of the British crown, to control the sale of all such territory within her boundaries, and March 25, 1784, her legislature authorized the appointment of commissioners to take charge of all affairs pertaining to the Indians within the borders of the State. On Sept. 10th, the New York Commissioners met representatives of the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix. Upon receiving assurances that the State acknowledged their ownership of the soil of their territory, the Iroquois agreed to terms of peace and promised not to sell any land in New York without consent of the State Commissioners.

Some time in the fall of 1784 a council was called at Little Beard's Town to consider the affairs of the Six Nations. According to the tradition of the Jones and Whitmore families this council met but a short time before the captives on the middle Genesee were released, probably in October.

Horatio Jones was by this time recognized by the Iroquois as a counselor of great influence in their interests; his moral and physical courage so often tested, good sense and perfect command of the Seneca language put him on an equal footing with the ablest men of the council, while his good humor made him popular with the people.

Once assured of his right to claim his wife Horatio learned of the fears entertained by her family that she would be taken from them; he and Sally earnestly assured them that if released from captivity they would in time return to the Genesee and live among their Indian friends. The pledge was accepted in good faith and Sally continued in her home awaiting the claim of her promised husband.

On October 22, 1784, the United States Commissioners met the representatives of the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix, now Rome. New York had recognized the title of the red men to their ancient possessions within the state, and proffered the olive branch of peace; the Commissioners treated the Iroquois as a conquered people and secured peace on



terms of their dictation. The Oneidas and Tuscaroras as late allies of the Americans, were confirmed in the possession of their respective territories. The Senecas, Mohawks, Onondagas and Cayugas were granted peace upon condition that the Six Nations should yield to the United States all claims to lands west of a line four miles east of the Niagara River drawn from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie at Buffalo Creek, thence south to Pennsylvania and west and south along the border of that state to the Ohio River. All prisoners of war held by these natives were to be surrendered to the United States; and six principal chiefs were retained in custody as hostages for the delivering of the captives. It was estimated that the Six Nations then held in captivity no less than ninety-three persons, of whom a list was made; and Hill, Jasper Parrish's Indian father, and five other principal men, were surrendered to the Commissioners as a guarantee of the fulfillment of the terms of the treaty. Some captives who had come to Fort Stanwix with their red masters were immediately set at liberty, but a greater number still remained at the towns of the Iroquois. The Indians agreed to collect and forward them to Fort Stanwix as speedily as possible.

When the runner reached the Genesee with particulars of the treaty, and Horatio and Sarah understood that according to its conditions they must soon be freed, they were much affected by the information. From the date when Jones lay alone in the depths of the forest and wore out the dismal night in mental argument regarding his proper line of duty he had given himself up to the belief that he was under the special care of a Higher Power that directed the principal events of his existence and impelled him to continue in captivity for the benefit of his fellow-prisoners. He had looked forward to the close of the war as a period when he could conscientiously be released from his moral duty, but now that the time had actually come he found the ties binding him to his associates greatly strengthened by his predilection for forest life; once again he balanced in mind his inclination for freedom and the pleasures of the wilderness against what he considered a call of duty to return to civilization.



It was not, however, a matter of personal choice; the United States demanded the surrender of all persons taken by the Iroquois, and the latter in good faith honestly endeavored to perform their part of the contract. There were a number of captives who had married with the Indians, and others who preferred to remain with their captors, but all the prisoners were informed that the demands of the thirteen Great Fires must be complied with.

"We know that Ha-wen-ne-ya sent you to us to be a bond between the red men and the white men," said the chief of the council to Horatio, "and your mission is not yet fulfilled; but for some purpose He now directs that you again go to the home of your palefaced friends, and you must go. We believe the separation will be brief and that you will again be sent to us. Remember you are one of our children entitled to share with us in all things and whenever you return a seat shall be given you where your old age may be passed in peace."

In December (1784) a large delegation of Senecas escorted the Genesee captives to Fort Stanwix and there formally surrendered them to the United States authorities; but it was not till the following May that the last formal surrender of prisoners was made at Albany and the hostages released. Even then some twenty or thirty captives either remained with the Indians or returned to them after being released. Among this number were Black Joe, John Simmonton, Mary Jemison, James Pemberton, Poudry, Deamhout, Frances Slocum and others whose names have since passed into history.

It cannot be learned what was the immediate procedure of Jones and his wife upon their release at Fort Stanwix. It is said that the Whitmore children were collected at Schenectady. We know that Jones and Sarah were married at that place by Rev. Samuel Kirkland, the missionary, in 1784, and that they decided to establish a home in the wilderness, where Jones could build up a trade in furs. Their subsequent life has been carefully traced.



## XII. THE HOME IN THE WILDERNESS.

Early in 1785 farewells were spoken to friends in Schenectady, and shouldering his rifle, Jones went away into the forest, closely followed by his trusty horse bearing his wife and all their possessions. The course was westward over the great trail leading from Albany through the Iroquois towns to Lake Erie. It was the intention of Horatio to locate near the boundary of Seneca territory on the route between the western towns and settlements of the whites, where he could secure traffic between the Indians and the whites. The easternmost town of the Senecas on the great trail had been located at Kanadesaga, a mile and a half west of Seneca Lake, and Old Smoke, the so-called King of the Senecas, had lived there prior to the destruction of the place by Gen. Sullivan in 1779. After Sullivan's invasion Old Smoke, or at any rate some Seneca families, appear to have lived at the end of the lake; the site of the former stronghold was called the Old Castle, while the name Kanadesaga was applied to all the section between the Old Castle and the lake, though there seems to have been no town or settlement of any consequence at the lake when Jones was seeking a home there in 1785. The western town of the Cayugas on the great trail was at Skoi-yase, four miles east of Seneca Lake, and a few houses stood there when Jones reached the place early in the spring of 1785.

The young couple decided to settle there and Horatio built a bark house similar to those used by the Indians. It was located on the south side of the Seneca River near the spot now occupied by the lock at the falls. In this humble habitation they set up housekeeping and began trade with the Indians. At that date no other white man had established a home in the territory now comprising Seneca County, and the late captive interpreter thus became the pioneer settler of a section that soon proved the doorway through which civilization made its advance into the ancient domain of his recent savage masters. There was a shorter trail between Cayuga Lake and the West that struck the Seneca River above Skoi-yase, and as many of the Indians





took that route our young trader lost chances to barter; accordingly he soon moved to the end of Seneca Lake and built a second habitation on the east side of the outlet on the high ground near the present road. Jones soon discovered that he had not been wise in this location as many Indians turned south on the trail along the western side of Seneca Lake. How long he remained at the outlet is not known, but probably till early spring of the following year, when he went farther west and settled near the intersection of the east and south trails; thus becoming the first white settler upon the present site of Geneva.

De Bartyen and Poudry, two French traders, were located at the Old Castle and at Cashong, a small Seneca village south of Horatio's new home; and the latter determined to open barter at the camps of the native hunters. Accordingly he made long excursions into the Seneca country, leaving his young wife in their bark house with no neighbors other than parties of Indians who occasionally camped in the vicinity. The native friends who came from time to time to visit Horatio and his wife met with a warm welcome. The generous bounty bestowed upon all was appreciated by some who often laid the fruits of the chase at the cabin door; thus their larder was seldom free from evidences of the good will of Indian friends. In this humble home, with none other than the women of the forest to attend her, Sarah's first child was born, December 18, 1786. He was named William, in honor of his parental grandfather, and Whitmoyer, after his mother's family. He is said to have been the first child of white parentage born on the great trail west of Utica. Horatio remembered to have seen the wreck of an old batteau in the outlet near his former home and he secured enough of the pitch pine boards to make a rude cradle wherein the children of the Indians loved to rock the little stranger as they crooned their lullabys and peered wonderingly at the dimpled pale-face.\*

\* William Whitmoyer Jones, the first born of Horatio, preserved with religious care this cradle which, at the time it was made, was considered a great improvement upon the bark or hollow log cradle of that day. For many years it was in the possession of John H. Jones of Leicester. Its present owner is not known to the editor of this volume.



Sitting in the firelight of their humble home one chill evening Horatio and his wife were startled by a loud knock at the door. The natives exercised no such formality upon entering a dwelling and the sound suggested to the young pioneers the presence of some person from civilization. "Come in," Jones called out instinctively, certain that some young person stood without. The rude door at once swung open, admitting a man bearing upon his shoulders a pack of furs. Pausing a moment to give a keen glance at the occupants of the room, whose faces were lighted by the flames in the fireplace, the stranger coolly unslung his pack and addressing Jones in a pleasant voice, the accent revealing a German origin, briefly explained that he had become lost in the wilderness and seeing a light and a house had hastened to it in hopes of obtaining food and shelter. Jones gave the new-comer hearty welcome and Sarah set before him a venison steak, smoking from the embers, with corn bread and coffee. The guest was about Horatio's age. His face was smooth and there was an expression in the clear eyes and firmly-set mouth, indicating shrewdness and strength of character, that caught the fancy of the young host. In the conversation that followed the stranger said his name was John Jacob Astor;\* he resided in New York, was engaged in the fur trade and had come to the Indian country alone and on foot to establish a trade with the Indians. Mr. Astor was equally impressed with the manly appearance and intelligence of his host, soon learned the history of the young

\* Mr. Harris's authority for this account of Astor's visit to Jones is not known to the present editor. Most likely it is a tradition of the Jones family, and the probabilities favor its truth. John Jacob Astor came to America in 1783, and in a few years his fur trade had so developed that he was on the highway to wealth. From 1785 or thereabouts for several years he was often on the Niagara, at the fort, negotiating with traders and Indians throughout the region, and directing his own agents. In a biographical sketch of him his great-grandson, William Waldorf Astor, has written: "Upon reaching New York he at once busied himself in the fur trade, to whose vast developments his thoughtful attention had been directed by a fellow countryman and wherein immense profits were being realized. He entered upon this occupation with unremitting vigor and in a dozen years had diverted some of the most profitable markets from his competitors and was at the head of a business branching to Albany, Buffalo, Plattsburg and Detroit. . . . During the first years of his life in America, the development of the commercial establishment Mr. Astor was building up called for his frequent presence among the Indian tribes with which the fur



couple and shrewdly concluded that their knowledge of the Genesee country and acquaintance with the natives would prove a great advantage in matters of trade. Jones then had quite a quantity of furs. Astor looked over the stock, gave the young trader several valuable suggestions and bought the lot; an agreement followed that thereafter Jones should collect for Astor alone and deliver his stock at the Astor warehouse in New York. Jones purchased for Astor for many years.

The following season Joseph Smith, the former Seneca captive whom Horatio met at Little Beard's Town, and who had been a friend to Sarah during her captivity, came to Seneca Lake and built a log house near that of Jones. For awhile he assisted Horatio, but finally began trade upon his own account; Mrs. Jones and Mrs. Smith were often alone together for days, while their husbands were far away in the wilderness.

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### XIII. THE BUFFALO CREEK COUNCIL OF JULY, 1788.

We will now review events that soon made the place that Jones had selected for a residence the most noted spot in Western New York. When the Commissioners of New York State and the representatives of the Six Nations met at Fort Stanwix, September 10, 1784, the latter agreed not

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trade was carried on. He was obliged to be his own agent at the frontier trading stations, making agreements for the delivery of large quantities of furs; and as his dealings multiplied, it was no less necessary to regulate the affairs of his agencies. In later life he often spoke with enthusiasm of the incidents and adventures of this period of his career. It is easy to place before one's imagination the grandeur of the scenes he then beheld in their primeval beauty. Through the forests of Lower Canada, of New York and Michigan, he walked, guided by *coureurs de bois*, sometimes the first European explorer of their recesses. He traversed the Great Lakes with a band of Ontario voyageurs, and shot the Sault Ste. Marie in a birch canoe with a couple of Indians. He visited encampments on the St. Lawrence and at Saginaw Bay, and beheld along the Mohawk Valley the last Iroquois wigwams—those final vestiges of the untamed Six Nations. Wherever he went he dealt with the chiefs, bargaining with them in a spirit of fairness and humanity, and forbidding his agents ever to sell liquor to the savages. These journeys were continued through the summers of several years and extended from the Hudson to the copper rocks of Lake Superior."—(*Pall Mall Magazine*, June, 1899.)



to sell their lands in New York without the consent of the State. In 1785 Massachusetts, by virtue of the grant of 1620, set up a claim to the Iroquois territory in New York; but at a convention of delegates from the two states, held at Hartford in December, 1786, Massachusetts relinquished all claims of sovereignty and jurisprudence within the borders of New York upon condition that the latter state should concede to her the right of preëmption, or sole privilege of purchasing from the native owners all lands in the State west of a due north and south line drawn from the 82d milestone on the Pennsylvania line to Lake Ontario. The new boundary between the white and the red men was to supersede the line of property and be known as "The Preëmptive line." As the purchase of Iroquois lands by individuals was illegal and the fever of land speculation possessed many people, two companies, known as the New York Genesee Land Company and the Niagara Genesee Land Company, were organized in 1787 for the purpose of leasing of the Six Nations for a period of ninety-nine years all their country west of the old line of property. In November, 1787, the New York company called a council of the Six Nations at Kanadesaga and the Indians assembled on the lake shore near Jones' house.

In their pursuit of traffic in the depths of the wilderness Jones and Smith had little knowledge of the acts of legislatures or of the motives underlying the schemes of men eager to obtain a first title to Iroquois territory, hence when the Hon. John Livingston, one of the most prominent men of the day, offered to engage the two traders as interpreters, they deemed themselves fortunate. For their services at this treaty each received liberal compensation and Jones a gratuity of half a share of stock in the lessee company.\*

January 8, 1788, a lease was obtained of the Oneidas for their lands. Thereafter the companies were termed lessees. These companies included some of the most prominent men of New York and among the British at Niagara. In Feb-

\* In that month, November, a daughter was born to Joseph Smith and wife whom they named Mary. She married Justice Dutton, who died in Moscow in 1815. Her daughter married Dr. D. P. Bissell of Utica.—G. H. H.





ruary, Livingston, who was then in the Assembly, with others, memorialized the Legislature to recognize the leases; but the petition was summarily rejected and the Governor was empowered to use the force of the State to prevent intrusion or settlement upon Iroquois lands. On April 1st Massachusetts sold to a company represented by Nathaniel Gorham and Oliver Phelps, the sole right to preëempt Indian lands in New York, on condition that the company should extinguish the native title. Phelps was appointed general agent, and to prevent complications opened negotiations with the lessees, promising Livingston and others several townships if the lessees would surrender their leases and procure from the Senecas a deed of cession to Phelps and Gorham. This proposition was accepted and the lessees contracted to hold a treaty at Kanadesaga for that purpose. On May 2d Livingston tried to compromise with New York, but his proposition was rejected.

On June 1st, Mr. Phelps, the Rev. Samuel Kirkland as Commissioner of Massachusetts, and other gentlemen arrived at Seneca Lake, where Horatio Jones and Smith were the only white residents. Mr. Phelps was so pleased with the location that he decided to found a town there if the place fell within his purchase. The Indians refused to go to Kanadesaga to meet Livingston, and Phelps decided to hold a treaty on his own responsibility. Jones was sent to the Senecas and on June 21st Red Jacket, Little Billy, Heap-of-Dogs and three others brought to Mr. Phelps an invitation to meet the Indians at Buffalo Creek.

The council convened at Buffalo Creek July 4, 1788, James Dean, Joseph Smith, Horatio Jones, Wm. Johnson and other interpreters being present. Phelps bought of the Indians for \$5,000 and an annuity "forever" of \$500, a tract of 2,600,000 acres lying mainly between Seneca Lake and Genesee River, since known as the Phelps and Gorham Purchase, giving his bond therefor to the Seneca chiefs. When the bargain was concluded Phelps asked for a present of a lot west of the Genesee upon which he could place a mill to grind corn for the Indians. They objected, but finally agreed to give him land sufficient for a mill lot. Phelps



selected a section extending from Lake Ontario twenty-five miles southward and twelve miles west, comprising some 200,000 acres. When the Indians learned that an acre would have been sufficient for mill purposes their amazement was indescribable.

The council closed July 8th, and the following day Dr. Benton and Elias Gilbert of the lessees obtained the signatures of the Indian chiefs to a writing abrogating their lease to the lands of the Phelps and Gorham Purchase; but affirming their lease to the lands of the Six Nations east of the preëmption line yet to be established on consideration that the State of New York ratify the contract.

These transactions were effected through the influence and with the sanction of the accredited agents of New York and Massachusetts, and by prominent men of the day, in whom the Indian interpreters had unlimited confidence; hence was it strange that Horatio Jones and Joseph Smith deemed their own actions as interpreters as perfectly consistent with their character as good citizens and their connection with the lessee company as a fortunate occurrence, destined to bring them into close relations with leading men of the times?

The travel of traders, settlers and white men over the great trail was increasing and on their return from Buffalo Creek in July, Clark Jennings, a former Iroquois captive, built a log house on the shore of Seneca Lake, south of Jones', and opened a tavern. Horatio also erected a bark-covered house of logs, and soon after Capt. Peter Bartle and Leonard Widener settled near him. Joseph Smith lived near Jones. In honor of the Seneca Castle, which was well known in all the country, the former Indian captives, now pioneers, called their little settlement Kanadesaga. William Walker, chief of surveyors for Phelps and Gorham, arrived at Kanadesaga with his men in August, and Col. Maxwell began the survey of the preëmption line from Pennsylvania. It was expected that the line would run east of Kanadesaga, in which case the new town would be established there.

In March the State had called a council of the Six Nations at Fort Schuyler (old Fort Stanwix) to negotiate the



purchase of Iroquois lands east of the preëmption line, and as the last lease procured by the lessees covered those lands the companies opposed the prospective treaty and endeavored to induce the Indians not to attend. When the council convened in September, Gov. Clinton peremptorily ordered Livingston and Schuyler to retire forty miles from the treaty grounds. The State then purchased the Onondaga and Oneida lands of the Indians and Rev. Samuel Kirkland, Dean, Schuyler, Olcott, Ryckman and others who had acted with the lessees up to that date, withdrew from the companies and entered the service of the State. Kirkland was immediately sent to the Cayugas and Senecas to call a council of those two nations at Albany to extinguish their claims to lands east of the preëmption line.

✓ In October a number of men, afterwards noted pioneers of the Genesee country, arrived at Kanadesaga, or, as it was later called, Geneva. Among the number were William Markham, Ransom Smith, Enos and Jared Boughton, John H. and George Jones, the last two being brothers of Horatio. The boys had made their way on foot from Pennsylvania over Sullivan's old route. All the men mentioned entered the service of Phelps and Gorham. It had been the general expectation that the preëmption line would run east of Seneca Lake, but Maxwell's surveyors made a mistake and ran the line through the Old Castle, one and one-half miles west of the lake, apparently leaving the new village within the borders of the last lease of the lessees. Walker, therefore, decided to build a new town and in November removed his men and stores sixteen miles westward and established the village of Canandaigua, on the outlet of Canandaigua Lake. Jones and Smith had been on friendly terms with Walker and John H. Jones was in his employ. In December, Walker placed all his property in Canandaigua in the care of Joseph Smith, and with his surveyors went East for the winter.

The Senecas were constantly importuning Jones to return to the Genesee, and some time during the winter of 1788-'9, a delegation, of which Farmer's Brother was a member, visited him with a formal request that he would



share their dish, in other words, would settle among them. Captain Jones, as he was then called, gave the matter serious consideration. His trade was already affected by the influx of white people, and the continual excitement under which the Indians were laboring. It was evident that the settlement of the Phelps and Gorham tract would destroy his business.

By removing to the Genesee he would again be on the border of civilization and in the path of Indian trade. He decided to accept the offer of his red friends and informed them he would dip his spoon in their dish as soon as he could make proper arrangements. The delegation replied that when he was prepared to look they would stand a broom at his door; in other words whenever he selected a piece of land for a home they would confirm his title.

The lessees had not given up the hope of profiting in some manner from the lease they held of Indian lands east of the preëmption line. The Rev. Mr. Kirkland discovered that considerable opposition to the proposed treaty existed among the white people and the Indians appeared indifferent. Col. Seth Reed and Peter Ryckman, traders at Kanadesaga, wrote to Gov. Clinton, offering to carry the Seneca and Cayuga Indians to Albany and his offer was accepted; but the two men greatly overestimated their influence. To excuse their failure they wrote to Gov. Clinton in January that "Indian interpreters Wemp, Smith and Jones, together with what lessees were on the ground, prevented the Indians from going to the treaty and kept them so intoxicated that it was almost impossible to do business with them."\* In the same letter Reed said he was too ill to attend to the matter which was left to Ryckman, and begged for some land for his services.

Ryckman reached Albany in February with thirty Indians and squaws, including one Seneca chief. The State Commissioners, in accordance with the custom of the times, furnished liquor to the Indians, and one died in beastly intoxication. The Indians then ceded all the Cayuga lands to the State, and Ryckman was granted a large tract of land

\* Hough's "Indian Affairs."





on condition that he should share it with Reed. In accordance with his agreement with the lessees Phelps had instructed Walker to survey a line of townships on the Genesee for them the previous fall, and following the February treaty the three leases held by the lessees were surrendered to the State authorities.

As soon as he could get through the snow in the spring of 1789 Joseph Smith moved to Canandaigua and commenced keeping tavern in a log house near the outlet. Walker's surveyors returned from the East and a steady tide of travel flowed through Geneva and Canandaigua. Horatio Jones had afforded the surveyors considerable information the previous fall and he now found his services in demand to guide new settlers to their purchases.

The 1st of June, 1789, Horatio and John H. Jones proceeded to the present town of Phelps and planted five acres of corn. The 10th of June they guided Enos Boughton to the present town of Victor, which he had purchased for twenty cents an acre. Boughton had several hired men and they began building a cabin on Boughton Hill, while the Jones brothers plowed and sowed to buckwheat three acres of Indian clearing on the east side of the present road a mile or two south of Boughton Hill. The corn in Phelps and the buckwheat in Victor are said to have been the first crops raised in those townships by white settlers. Horatio and John H. then assisted Boughton's brother-in-law to survey the township.

In June, 1780, Joseph Brant, in behalf of the Six Nations, wrote to Gov. Clinton that the so-called treaty held in February, was the work, so far as the Indians were concerned, of unauthorized persons, contrary to Indian usage, and repudiated by the Six Nations. He asked that the lands should not be surveyed or settled until the matter was adjusted. The State surveyors had begun work in June and Gov. Clinton wrote that they must not be disturbed as the treaty was considered valid. On July 5th Capt. Hardenbergh,\* in charge of the survey, wrote the Governor that Indians from Buffalo had notified Reed and Ryckman to leave

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\* Captain, later Major, Abraham Hardenbergh.



Kanadesaga, and requested the surveyors to stop work. Hardenbergh said: "These carryings on, I have no doubt, are fostered by the preëmption people looking forward to the establishment of a new state. . . . The following are heads of the active lessees, viz.: Dr. Caleb Benton, most influence; Joseph Smith; John McKinstry, very active; Benj. Allen, violent in words; Horatio Jones, an interpreter; Peter Bartle; Clark Jennings, subtle fellow; Robt. Mitchell, interpreter. I think it would be well if they were immediately apprehended. It would discourage the rest and bring them to serious reflection."\*

July 14, 1789, Gov. Clinton commissioned Hardenbergh, Seth Reed and George Fleming as justices of the peace; he authorized Hardenbergh to organize a battalion of militia and in his letter to the Major said: "Although repeated information has been received charging them (Benton, McKinstry and others) with treasonable practices, yet for want of magistrates authorized to take affidavits we are not possessed of any legal proofs of the facts. This difficulty is now obviated and you will be able to authenticate the charges."

About the 1st of July a runner reached Capt. Jones with a speech from the Seneca chiefs who were then assembling on the Genesee. In substance the message stated that the voices of birds (rumors) were very strong and confusing, that the Senecas believed it was a proper time for Horatio to renew his relations with the nation as a chief, and they desired him to come to the Genesee where the council would grant him a seat upon Seneca territory. Capt. Jones, in company with his brothers, John H. and George, immediately set out on horseback for Little Beard's Town, where he found the council assembled. He informed the chiefs that he had not yet decided upon a permanent seat, but would like a place to build a hut and plant some seeds for next year's harvest, when he expected to come to the Genesee. With the approval of the Indians he set his brothers to work mowing a quantity of hay upon the flat, and promis-

\* Hough's "Indian Affairs."



ing the chiefs to meet them later at Canandaigua, he returned to Geneva.

On August 1, 1789, the chiefs of the Six Nations assembled at Canandaigua to receive the first payment from Phelps and Gorham. When Mr. Phelps was ready, they appointed Horatio Jones, Jack Berry, Joseph Smith, Nicholas Rosenkrantz and James Mathews a special committee to count the money and appraise the goods offered by Phelps, which duty was performed to the satisfaction of all. The Senecas then returned Phelps' bond and on August 4th, the chiefs of the other Iroquois nations signed a quit claim to the territory purchased by Phelps and Gorham.

Upon receiving authority to investigate charges, Major Hardenbergh called a meeting of the inhabitants of Geneva, to whom he explained the State laws and the illegal proceedings of the lessees. On September 1st he arrested Benjamin Allen, who escaped the following day. McKinstry could not be found and there appears to have been no mention of Jones, Smith, Wemp and others whom Hardenbergh and Ryckman had previously denounced. Hardenbergh wrote to Gov. Clinton: "The Senecas we begin to learn on further information wholly decline taking any part in the business," i. e., obstructing the surveyors. It is a fact that the Senecas distinctly stated that they had long before resigned all claims to lands east of the preëmption, and had no interest in, nor right to sell, such lands.

As Jones' influence with the Senecas was well understood, and Reed and Ryckman had secretly charged him with detaining the Senecas from State treaties, Maj. Hardenbergh's statement to the Governor may be considered an official refutation of the charges.

In the papers and traditions of the Jones family there is not the slightest hint that Jones or Smith ever heard of the charges. It is undoubtedly a fact, that the alarming reports of expected resistance to State authority emanated mainly from persons who wished to magnify their own importance in order to procure cessions of land from the State.

Reed and Ryckman quarreled in September, and in Oc-



tober Gov. Clinton suggested that the authority of the Legislature be invoked to compel Ryckman to disgorge Reed's share of lands granted for the benefit of both. The legal contest that followed between Reed and Ryckman developed such a disgraceful state of affairs as to render the secret accusations against Jones and Smith utterly valueless.

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#### XIV. A NEW HOME—WITH PROCTOR IN 1791.

The location selected by Horatio Jones for a temporary home covered in part the site of the old Seneca Castle destroyed by Gen. Sullivan in 1779.\* Believing the spot unlucky for themselves and having strong faith in Ta-yah-da-o-noh-ka's power over evil spirits, the Senecas were pleased to see him occupy the ground. No definite bounds to the space he was to use were mentioned. When left to themselves in July, John H. and George found a temporary residence in a vacant Indian hut. Whetting their scythes, the young men mowed nine acres of grass upon the flat a little east and south of the present bridge over Little Beard's Creek, and but a short distance from the spot where Boyd and Parker were tortured. The hay was turned and cocked with forks made of crotched branches of trees, carried on brush drags to high ground, where it was stacked and secured. The haymakers then went to Geneva and later, probably in September, returned to the Genesee with grain, tools and provisions. Having brought plow irons, they constructed a rude plow and with the horses they had ridden turned over the soil of the nine acres, cut the hay, and sowed them to wheat. The crop of grain cut from this ground the following season is supposed to have been the first crop of wheat raised by white settlers in the town of Leicester. The clevis used on the plow in breaking the nine

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\* Arthur Cummings owns the north side of the road, James F. Colt the south side where Boyd's tree stands.—G. H. H.





acres was carefully preserved, and is now in the possession of James W. Jones of Moscow.\*

Mary Jemison's Indian mother was a blood sister of Big Tree, or Ga-non-do-wa-nah. When she moved from Genisha to the west side of the river, she built her cabin at the east door of the Genesee Castle on the spot which Jones afterwards selected for his dwelling. It was there that the "white woman" entertained the British officers in their journeys to and fro, prior to Sullivan's invasion in 1779. There she planted seed for an orchard and to those seeds a sturdy apple tree, now in Mr. Perkins' orchard owes its existence. By his selection of this spot Jones was again located upon the border of the coming civilization in the doorway of the Indian country. After sowing the wheat, John H. and George constructed a pole and bark shanty as a stable for the horses, or other stock that might winter there; they built a house, also of poles and bark, for Horatio.

Although we have temporarily lost sight of Mrs. Jones in recording the events with which her husband was so closely connected, the brave little woman had nobly sustained her character as a pioneer wife and mother. Three sons, William W., George and Hiram, had been born at Geneva; their log house was one of the most comfortable and cheery homes in the place. Horatio had made his selection on the Genesee through Sarah's advice and they planned for the future with the Genesee Castle location as the center of their anticipated home life. About the 16th of

\* Grandson of Horatio through William W. Jones. The exact spot fixed upon by Capt. Jones for his dwelling is now covered by the farmhouse of John Perkins, at the angle in, and north of the road between Cuylerville and Geneva, nearly a mile east of the crossing of Beard's Creek, and from sixty to eighty rods west of the bridge over the Genesee. For some distance east of Beard's Creek the land is occasionally submerged by high water, but in the vicinity of Mr. Perkins's house the ground is more elevated and has never been under water. In 1789, in fact as late as 1825, the river ran within eight or ten rods of the site of Mr. Perkins's house and the center of the channel was the divisional line between the Phelps and Gorham tract and the lands of the Senecas. The location is historic. In Indian days several trails crossed the river, in the vicinity, especially those paths connecting old Genisha, Fall Brook and the later Big Tree's village east of the Genesee, with the Genesee Castle and later Little Beard's Town on the west side.—G. H. H.

† A lantern used by them then is now in the possession of Lucien M. Jones of Leicester, a grandson of John H. Jones.



May, 1790, Horatio turned his back on Geneva and again set out towards the Seneca country. First came Mrs. Jones, then Sally Griffith, a servant, each mounted upon a horse bearing a load of bedding.

Mrs. Jones had little Hiram tied in a shawl upon her back in Indian style, with baby George on the cushion before her, with several articles of domestic utility dangling at either side of the saddle horn. Sally Griffith bore William in her arms and was also encumbered with sundry small articles. Following them came a two-wheeled cart, driven by Jones, containing the balance of their household possessions. The little cavalcade journeyed over the rough road in safety until it reached the crossing of Flint Creek. Mrs. Jones passed the ford and halted on the bank to watch Sally, who attempted to follow; but her horse caught his foot in the bottom and in the struggle to release it the child was thrown into the swift-flowing stream. In an instant the young mother dismounted, dropped her two children, ran down the bank near the child, plunged into the water and brought him to shore little worse for the ducking.

Proceeding on to Canandaigua the family received a warm welcome from the family of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Smith, with whom they remained over night. The next day's journey took them to the present location of Lima. At the present location of Avon, Horatio abandoned the rough road over which Berry, Markham, Smith, Ganson and other pioneers had previously passed to the Genesee, and turning southeast picked his way along the high grounds and open spaces of the woods very nearly over the present line of the Avon, Geneseo & Mt. Morris Railroad. Camping one night on the journey, the family continued along the foot hills of Geneseo, through Big Tree Indian village, crossed the Genesee and on the 20th of May, 1790, reached the bark house on the ground of the Old Castle.

A number of Indians, including Sarah's relatives, welcomed them, and the young wife realized that she was again on or near the ground where she had passed the greater part of her captivity. Hospitality is the prime virtue of an Indian home, and understanding this, Sarah quickly arranged



her kitchen utensils and prepared some tea and food for her native visitors, who came in such numbers, that, upon their final departure, there was hardly enough food left in the house for the first family meal.

In the northern and western boundaries of the territory conceded to the United States by England in 1783, roughly stated, were the centers of the Great Lakes from the River St. Lawrence to the head waters of the Mississippi, thence south by the latter river to Florida. Great Britain made no provision for her Indian allies resident within the ceded territory, and Congress was firmly impressed with the belief that the cession of the British crown absolutely vested the United States with the fee of all Indian lands within the borders of the new republic, and that the United States Government possessed the right to retain or dispose of such lands at will. The Senecas now became greatly concerned regarding their own condition and in November, 1790, decided to send a delegation to Philadelphia to learn from President Washington himself the intentions of the Government respecting the Six Nations. Cornplanter, Halftown, Big Tree, New Arrow, Black Snake, Red Jacket and a son of Cornplanter reached the capital on the 29th and on December 1st and subsequent dates, addressed the President, saying in substance that the Senecas had given up their lands at the treaty of 1784 through compulsion, expecting a lasting peace with the United States, but they had been deceived and cheated by Livingston, Street and Phelps; that the latter had failed to pay what he agreed and that year, 1790, had paid nothing; that some of their people had been murdered by lawless whites; they asked justice at the hands of the Government, requested that mechanics and school-teachers be sent to them and that an official interpreter be appointed for the Seneca nation. The President replied in conciliatory speeches, explained the various treaties and the position assumed by the Government, declaimed his intention to do the Indians justice, promised to redress their wrongs and send them instructors; he left the appointment of an interpreter to the Governor of the western territory. He warned the Six Nations not to engage in the border war



and obtained a promise from Cornplanter and other chiefs to assist the United States in securing peace with the hostile tribes. The Seneca delegation lingered at Philadelphia until February 9, 1791, and reached Pittsburg, March 17th, when Big Tree went to the Wabash tribes and Cornplanter departed for the Allegheny. The Senecas were divided in their opinion and desires regarding the situation.

Phelps had failed to pay the promised annuity for 1790; Farmer's Brother, Red Jacket and other chiefs, under the direct influence of the British officers at Niagara and Erie, were inclined to thwart the efforts of the United States to obtain peace with the western tribes and title to their lands, while a majority of the inferior chiefs desired to remain in friendly terms with the United States authorities.

That Capt. Jones was known to Gen. Washington as early as 1790 is well established, but through what means or when Washington first learned of him we have not been able to ascertain. Following his removal to the Genesee Jones was occasionally engaged in secret business for the Government: in the summer of 1790 he was directed to carry a quantity of specie to Buffalo Creek. The travel of drivers, traders and settlers from the Hudson and Susquehanna rivers to the Niagara frontier was increasing fast and a number of desperadoes infested these routes, plundering and murdering those known to possess money. Jones packed the treasure upon the back of his favorite mare Bess and indicating his intended route and camping places, said: "If I am killed on the journey, hunt up the robbers; but if I am murdered in camp, look for the money twenty rods northwest of where I sleep."

Arming himself with a tomahawk and stout knife he set out upon his mission. He passed the Genesee safely and one night camped on a bank west of a branch of Tonawanda Creek. After securing his treasure he built a fire, ate his supper, turned Bess loose to feed, and lay down with his saddle for a pillow. He slept soundly for several hours and towards morning dreamed that a little Indian came to him, saying if he remained where he was his bones would lie in a pile. The dream was so real Jones awoke. Bess





was standing near by and seemed to be frightened; Jones got up and searched the surrounding bushes, but finding nothing suspicious again lay down to slumber, when the Indian came in a second dream with the same message. Rousing up he observed the same uneasiness on the part of his horse, Bess cowering before him in terror. He had often ridiculed belief in dreams as expressed by the superstitious natives, but now his mind was in unrest and the responsibility of his mission bore heavily upon him. The horse was as thoroughly trained as a dog and he knew she had seen some object of a startling nature; probably some person prowling in the bushes to reconnoiter his position. Quietly saddling the mare he turned through the bushes closely followed by Bess, to the spot where he had buried the money. In a moment the treasure was secured in its usual place and Jones mounted just as daylight began to appear. He had gone about a quarter of a mile when he heard a rustling in the bushes close by the path. He gave Bess a touch and as the obedient creature suddenly bounded forward a man with a club in his hand stepped into the trail close behind her.

"You stir early," said the stranger.

"Yes," Jones answered curtly, without checking the brisk gait of his horse. A little farther on he saw a brisk fire burning under a large kettle and a man not far off. Jones could not divest himself of the idea that that kettle was intended to cook his body to destroy his identity. He reached his destination in safety.

A few days later John Street, who kept a trading house at Fort Niagara, was robbed and murdered at a spring near the Ridge Road, a mile west of Warren's. His body was cut into fragments and scattered about. Gale, from Goshen, and Hammond, from the Delaware, were arrested for the crime; Hammond turned State's evidence, but escaped, and Gale was discharged. The spring has since been termed "Murderers' Spring."\*

On March 10, 1791, Col. Thomas Proctor was ordered to visit the Wabash and Miami Indians and invite them to a

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\* Turner's Holland Purchase.



treaty of peace at Fort Washington on May 5th. Leaving Philadelphia on horseback, accompanied by Capt. M. G. Houdin, who was to assume the mission in case the Colonel was killed or disabled, Proctor crossed the Blue Mountains and reached Wilksburg on the 19th.

On the 20th he reached the residence of Capt. Waterman Baldwin, who had been a captive at Cornplanter's town and who was to reside there and instruct the Senecas in study and agriculture. At Tioga Point Proctor hired an Indian named Peter Cayantha to guide him to the Genesee River. At Painted Post the party was joined by George Slocum, who expected to redeem from captivity his sister Frances, who had been a prisoner at Cornplanter's town for twelve years. Crossing over the divide to the Canaseraga, Proctor arrived at the house of Ebenezer Allan, in the present village of Mt. Morris at ten P. M., on the 30th. The following morning Col. Proctor found himself surrounded by the Senecas of Squakie Hill and without an interpreter.

As Allan was not at home Col. Proctor says in his official journal: "I wrote a letter directed to Capt. Allan or Horatio Jones and sent it by a runner by way of Connewago, or at such a place where I could meet with either of them, requesting that whoever received it should repair to Squakie Hill to meet me; and should they meet any Indian chiefs or warriors to invite them to meet me also, having business of importance from Gen. Washington, the President of the United States, to lay before their nation. I at the same time dispatched two runners, one to the several sugar camps adjacent to give them like information and the other to Capt. Big Tree and Little Beard, who reside about seven miles hence. By evening several warriors and chiefs had arrived at Mr. Allan's residence, among the latter Stump-foot, the chief of Squakie Hill; Little Beard and Black Chief." "April 1st. Mr. Horatio Jones, Indian interpreter, arrived this morning and shortly afterwards I convened the thirty odd chiefs present into council and introduced my message by some prefatory sentiments, touching the candor and justice of the United States . . . and read my message to them from the Secretary of War (asking the Senecas



to accompany and assist Col. Proctor in his efforts to secure peace with the western tribes). They signified their full approbation in their accustomed manner." On learning that Cornplanter had called a great council at Buffalo, Proctor decided to go there, and several chiefs agreed to accompany him. "I made inquiry whether it was easy to obtain a good interpreter at Buffalo or otherwise," continued Col. Proctor, "and being informed there were no interpreters there except those under British pay, I conceived it a duty incumbent on me to engage Mr. Jones, as being a proper person for my business from the reputation he bore from inquiries I had made and I accordingly agreed with him in behalf of the United States, to pay him the customary wages so long as I should find occasion for his services." Ebenezer Allan arrived home and refused to receive any compensation for the trouble and expense for provisions Col. Proctor's party had caused him. The Colonel made him presents of an amount equalling eleven dollars.

As Proctor was starting for Buffalo, a second runner came with news that the council fire at that place had been covered for one moon and the Colonel decided to go to Oil Spring, where he expected to find Cornplanter. Proceeding by way of Nunda, Caneadea and Oil Creek the party reached a place called Dun-e-wan-gua, at the great bend of the Allegheny River where, on April 6th, runners informed Col. Proctor that a number of Virginians had killed several Delaware Indians near Fort Pitt. In revenge the Indians attacked a settlement above Pittsburg and killed seventeen whites. Cornplanter, New Arrow and other chiefs, with the commander of Venango, were coming up the river in the garrison boat and canoes, when a company of militia overtook them and forced the party to return, under threats of death. Proctor engaged one of the runners as a guide and proceeding to Cornplanter's town found the place deserted by chiefs and warriors, who had gone to Venango to rescue Cornplanter.

Procuring a canoe and two young Indians to work it, Col. Proctor, Baldwin and Jones set out for French Creek, 130 miles distant, and paddling continuously for thirty



hours, reached Fort Franklin, where Cornplanter and other chiefs informed them that the militia had taken New Arrow to Pittsburg and carried off all the Indian property, leaving the Senecas utterly destitute.

Proctor used every possible argument to appease the fears of the Indians, promised to report their situation to the Secretary of War and have New Arrow released, called them together in council, represented the horrors of warfare and entreated their aid in his mission to the Miamis. The Indians, notwithstanding the murder of their people, imprisonment of their sachem and the robbery of their property, promised the desired aid, but insisted upon going to Buffalo Creek to hold a council. Proceeding up the Allegheny to New Arrow's settlement, where they arrived on the 15th, Proctor left Capt. Baldwin and Cayantha, the Indian guide, in company with Dominick De Barge, formerly of Canadesaga, and James Culbertson of Genesee, who were there trading with the Indians. There Slocum found his long-lost sister Frances married and with an Indian family. No persuasion could induce her to return to her white relatives. News also came that New Arrow had been released and the stolen goods, given to Cornplanter at Philadelphia safely returned. Passing onward by way of Cataraugus, Proctor and the Senecas reached Buffalo Creek on the 27th, where Farmer's Brother, Red Jacket and other Indian chiefs invited them to the council house of the Senecas.

Horatio Jones then informed the council that Col. Proctor came with messages from President Washington to the Six Nations, but Red Jacket intimated that Proctor might be an impostor, and it was agreed that his commission and papers should be submitted to the commanding officer at Fort Erie. The following morning Capt. Powell came as the representative of the commandant of Fort Erie, and through him Colonel Proctor learned that the Indians were entirely under the control of the British officers of Niagara and Erie and that Brant had been sent with forty warriors to Detroit and thence to the great encampment of the hostile Indians on a mission. Proctor explained to the Indians, through Jones,





the nature of his mission and the messages sent by the United States officials to the Six Nations and the hostiles. Red Jacket replied that the council must be adjourned to Fort Niagara and held in the presence of the British officers. Col. Proctor peremptorily refused to move the fire or submit his business to the British. So the Indians sent for Col. John Butler. Finding that the influence of the British officials rendered futile all his own efforts to secure an escort of the Six Nations' chiefs to the hostiles, Col. Proctor sent a letter by Capt. Jones to Col. Gordon, commandant at Niagara, requesting permission to use one of the vessels on Lake Erie to transport him and party to the Miamis at the upper end of the lake.

Capt. Jones assumed his Indian costume and proceeded to Fort Niagara, where he sent Col. Proctor's letter to Col. Gordon. Wishing to look over the fort where he had spent several weeks while in captivity, Jones passed hither and thither in a leisurely manner until he was suddenly confronted by a corporal and file of men who restricted his movements to the parade ground. Receiving his package he retraced his steps to Buffalo Creek, when Col. Proctor learned that the British commandant chose to consider him a private individual and refused him the use of a vessel. The Senecas, therefore, refused to attend Proctor to the hostiles and the mission thus unhappily ended. Proctor left Buffalo, May 21st, and Jones returned to the Genesee, having served as interpreter and assistant in all the controversies and incidents of the mission.\*

*[End of the narrative as written by Mr. Harris; the following chapters by the editor of this volume.]*

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\* We omit from Mr. Harris's narrative a long account of treaty negotiations with Western Indians, the organization of the Indian department, and the operations of Harmar and St. Clair, the principal facts being elsewhere accessible.



## XV. TREATIES AND COUNCILS—THE JONES AND PARRISH TRACTS IN BUFFALO.

During the years that followed, down almost to the time of his death, Horatio Jones was often in Government or other employ, as interpreter, his salary from the Government being \$400 per year. His services on many of these occasions gave him an important part in negotiations of the greatest import, between the United States Government, or representatives of land companies, and the Indians. Without undertaking to rewrite the history of these treaties and councils, all long since fully recorded, it is essential to our narrative that some account of them be given.

Horatio Jones had served as interpreter at the treaty of Buffalo Creek, July 8, 1788, at which the Five Nations sold to Nathaniel Gorham and Oliver Phelps, for £2,100 and an annuity of \$500, all their lands east of the Genesee and a small tract west of it, more than two and a half million acres, containing what are now the counties of Ontario, Steuben and Yates, and portions of Monroe, Livingston, Wayne, Allegany and Schuyler. The earlier and later history of this tract is matter of familiar record, and need not be entered upon here. It was an important step towards the final extinction of Indian title in the Empire State, save for the narrow bounds of a few reservations.

Two incidents of the year 1791 should be recorded at this point. In 1791 the Senecas deeded four square miles on the Genesee River, now the site of Mt. Morris, to Ebenezer Allan in trust for his two daughters, Mary and Chloe. Horatio Jones and Jasper Parrish, with others, signed the deed as witnesses, July 16th.\* This tract, whether by oversight or otherwise, was not reserved in the sale to Morris. In 1823 the Senecas made an ineffectual appeal to the Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, in behalf of Allan's heirs, and referred to Jones and Parrish, who had served as in-

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\* Their signatures, with the marks of Farmer's Brother, Little Beard and some sixteen other chiefs and sachems, including Red Jacket, may be seen in the Ontario County Clerk's records at Canandaigua.



terpreters at the Pickering treaty, when the original grant was made, for substantiation of their claims.

Jones and Parrish were both with a large party of Senecas, who in the summer of 1791, on their way to meet Col. Pickering at Newtown, encamped at Norris' Landing, about a mile south of Dresden on Seneca Lake, and there met the famous Jemima Wilkinson, "the Universal Friend." It is recorded that on this occasion she preached to the Indian multitude, through the medium of an interpreter, presumably either Jones or Parrish; and that the Indians were much pleased with her discourse. David Hudson, in his history of the "preacheress,"\* adds the following: "Jemima having seated herself beside the interpreter, who accompanied the Indians, desired him to explain to her the language of the speaker [an Indian]. When the Indian had ended his discourse, he enquired of the interpreter what the conversation had been between him and his white sister, and on being informed that she had requested an interpretation of his words, he fixed his eye sternly upon her, and pointing his finger, said in broken English, 'Me think you are no Jesus Christ if you don't know what poor Indian say—he know what Indian say as well as anything,' and immediately turned contemptuously away from her, and neither he nor any of his party took any further notice of her." Jones met Jemima Wilkinson at Canandaigua in 1794, but it is not recorded that he served again as interpreter between that singularly deluded woman and the shrewd, keen-witted Indians.

Horatio Jones bore his accustomed useful part in the treaty held in 1793 with the Indian tribes northwest of the Ohio, by commissioners of the United States. On February 19, 1793, President Washington, in a message to the House of Representatives, set forth that "it has been agreed on the part of the United States, that a treaty or conference shall be held the ensuing season with the hostile Indians northwest of the Ohio, in order to remove, if possible, all causes of difference, and to establish a solid peace with them." The President reminded Congress of their duties consequent

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\* "History of Jemima Wilkinson, a Preacheress of the Eighteenth Century," etc., Geneva, N. Y., 1821.



thereon. An act was passed appropriating a sum not to exceed \$100,000 for the purposes of the treaty. The commission was finally constituted of Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, Beverly Randolph and Timothy Pickering, and Sandusky was fixed upon as the place of meeting.

The best narrative of this episode is the journal of the tour kept by Gen. Lincoln.\* The commissioners set out from Philadelphia, April 27, 1793, and journeyed by way of New York, Albany, the Mohawk River and south shore of Lake Ontario, to the Niagara. Gen. Lincoln's narrative is graphic and picturesque, and forms a valuable addition to the chronicles of our region. The party reached Fort Niagara May 25th, and sojourned there, and with Gov. Simcoe across the river, for some days. On June 4th, the King's birthday, the commissioners attended a levee at the Governor's house. Later Gen. Lincoln was the guest of Robert Hamilton at the Landing (Queenston), visited Niagara Falls, and on June 11th came up Buffalo Creek to the Seneca villages. It was at this time, apparently, that he engaged Horatio Jones to accompany the expedition to the West. There was speechmaking at the council house on Buffalo Creek,† presents, and mutual expressions of good will. For some days following, the commissioners were at various points in the Niagara region, their sight-seeing and visiting being very pleasantly recorded by Gen. Lincoln. On July 5th, while waiting for a favorable wind at Fort

\* The Massachusetts Historical Society owns the original manuscript. It was published in the "Collections" of that Society, 3d ser. vol. v, Boston, 1836.

† At this council on Buffalo Creek, June 11, 1793, there was present a young British officer, Col. C. A. Pilkington, who made a sketch of the scene at the conference. Many years later, in 1819, while stationed at Gibraltar, he presented it to a friend, a Mr. Henry. In 1836 it came into the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which has preserved it, with Gen. Lincoln's journal. So far as known it is the first picture made at what is now Buffalo. Our reproduction, greatly reduced, shows the principal part of the drawing. The three seated figures, left to right, are Mr. Randolph, Gen. Lincoln, and Mr. Pickering. Behind Pickering, standing with hand in breeches pocket, is Gen. Israel Chapin. To the right of Randolph is the interpreter, presumably Horatio Jones; he accompanied Lincoln for the rest of the mission and probably served him on this occasion. No other portrait of Jones is known to the present editor. At the interpreter's right are officers of the 24th British Grenadiers, and an Indian orator; behind the commissioners, the Quaker delegation, a negro servant and other spectators.



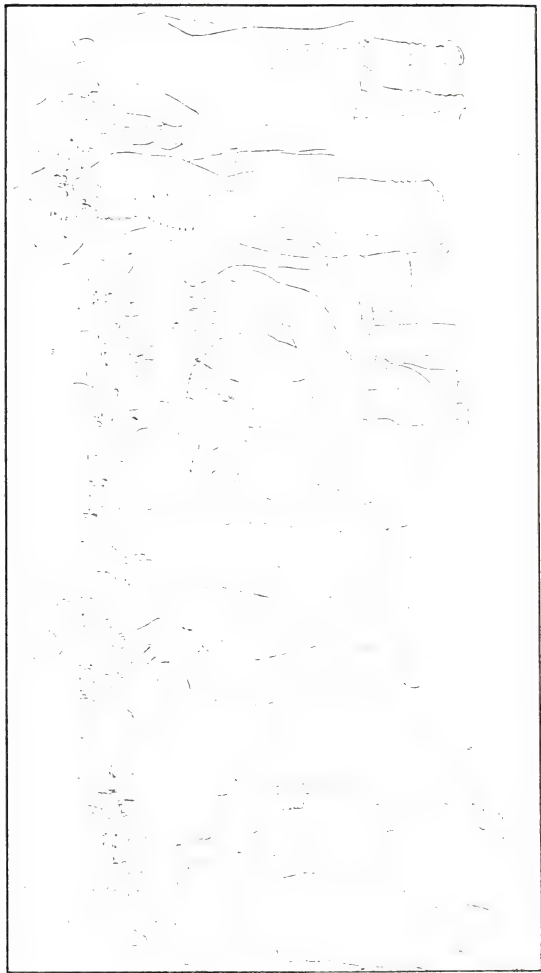


Erie, the commissioners were met by an Indian deputation from "the rapids of Miami," asking questions as to the intentions of the Government. The speeches on this occasion are preserved in Gen. Lincoln's journal, undoubtedly in the phraseology of interpreter Jones. Another council, shared in by Joseph Brant, followed at Navy Hall, Niagara. Letters were dispatched from Niagara to President Washington and to the Secretary of War, showing the unfavorable outlook for the western undertaking. The commissioners and Horatio Jones sailed from Fort Erie July 14th, and did not reach the upper end of the lake until July 21st. They were not permitted to visit the British garrison of Detroit, but were entertained at the mouth of the river, eighteen miles below. In some of the councils which followed, Simon Girty acted as interpreter. On July 31st the commissioners made their principal speech to the assembled tribes, and Gen. Lincoln wrote in his journal: "This speech was read by paragraphs, and interpreted by Mr. Jones into the Seneca tongue, and then delivered to the oldest chief with a white belt and with thirteen stripes of black wampum." The occasion illustrates the difficulty of communication between the Government and the tribes. The message was first translated into Seneca by Jones, whose knowledge of the Western dialects was apparently too slight for use. Then a second transmutation followed through the medium of the dubious Simon Girty, who knew the Wyandot, or of some Western chief who could understand, more or less adequately, the Seneca as spoken by Jones.\* Such double interpretation was by no means unusual. When one reflects upon the change of sentiment, if not utter perversion of meaning, likely in such twice-told messages, the marvel is, not that treaties were sometimes inconclusive, but that they came to any business-like conclusions at all.†

\*"A lengthy reply in writing was made by the commissioners on the 31st [July], the gist of which was that they were not authorized to fix the Ohio River as the boundary. This was interpreted by Girty and a Mr. Jones in the Seneca tongue, which was well understood by the Wyandot chief and by others of the deputation."—*Butterfield's "History of the Girtys,"* p. 277.

† There were other interpreters at this abortive council: William Wilson and Sylvester Ash, from Fort Pitt, as interpreters for the Delawares and





THE EARLIEST KNOWN BUFFALO PICTURE: TALK WITH THE INDIANS AT BUFFALO CREEK, 1793.

1. COL. TIMOTHY PICKERING. 2. GEN. BENJAMIN LINCOLN. 3. BEVERLY RANDOLPH. 4. GEN. ISRAEL CHAPIN. 5. THE INTERPRETER, PRESUMABLY HORATIO JONES. 6. INDIAN ORATOR. 7. 8. 9. BRITISH OFFICERS. 10. QUAKERS. SEE NOTE, P. 437



In the present instance, the result was far from satisfactory. The Shawanese, Wyandots, Miamis and Delawares were loth to commit themselves to peace pledges. On August 11th Gen. Lincoln wrote in his journal: "The King's vessel, called the Chippewa, arrived from Detroit, bound to Fort Erie. Twelve Senecas, including women and children, and most of them sick, from the Indian council at the rapids of the Miami, came in her. These Senecas are well known to General Chapin: and Jones the interpreter, one of them, an intelligent man, gave us the like information about the proceedings of the council upon our last speech, with that received from Hendrick's men and the Munsees and Chippeways; only that the four nations who inclined to continue the war, remained obstinate when he departed from the council." Farmer's Brother, Brant, perhaps Jones himself, spoke eloquently for peace, but the four nations named continued to stand out. Gen. Lincoln waited for many days. Finally, the chiefs and warriors sent word consenting to make peace if the United States would make the Ohio the boundary between its lands and the Indians' possessions. This the commissioners could not do, and the negotiations ended. Gen. Lincoln's party set sail from the mouth of the Detroit, August 17th, and were at Fort Erie on the 21st, whence the commissioners returned to Philadelphia, and Horatio Jones to his home. He had shared in an occasion which later years showed to be the last great stand of the red man for a part of that territory which had once been his, east of the Mississippi.

In February, 1794, a council was convened at Buffalo Creek, its purpose being, on the part of the Federal Government, to strengthen the Senecas in their allegiance. British influence was still strong upon them; the British still held

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Shawanese; and Mr. Dean, from the Mohawk, for the Oneidas. Jasper Parrish "had gone express to Philadelphia," but may have been present for a part of the time. Besides the commissioners and interpreters, there were present Charles Storer, secretary; Gen. Chapin, Indian agent at Buffalo Creek; Dr. McCoskry from Carlisle, as physician; William Scott, commissary; six Quakers, Wm. Savery, John Parrish, John Elliot, Jacob Lindley, Joseph Moore and Wm. Hartshorne; the Moravian missionary, John Heckewelder; two British officers, sent by Gov. Simcoe, Capt. Bombard of the Regulars and Lieut. Gibbins of the Queen's Rangers; a cook, and several servants.



Fort Niagara, and exercised no little sway over the Indians of Western New York. The region of the Niagara and Buffalo Creek was debatable territory; so far as the Indians could foresee, it might yet be given over into British hands. It is not strange, therefore, that they invited British officers to their councils. On the occasion named Brant was the principal speaker. Red Jacket shared in the talks, Horatio Jones acting as his interpreter. The United States Government distributed presents, and deferred further efforts until the great council of Canandaigua, in the autumn of that same year.

For the Canandaigua council, over 1600 Indians of the various tribes assembled, the Senecas from the Allegheny arriving at the rendezvous October 14th, under the leadership of Cornplanter, accompanied by Horatio Jones as interpreter. Two days later came Farmer's Brother and his Senecas from Buffalo Creek, and with them Jasper Parrish. Colonel Pickering was again the United States commissioner. Several graphic accounts exist of this last great council in Western New York; subsequent assemblages surpassed it in historic importance, but none—except perhaps that of '97—equalled it in the number of Indian attendants, nor in picturesque wildness of incident. At this, the last general council between the Six Nations and the United States Government, both Jones and Parrish served as interpreters. By the terms finally agreed upon, November 11th, the Oneidas, Onondagas and Cayugas were confirmed in their reservations; the boundaries of the Senecas were established, and the four-mile strip along the Niagara from Fort Schlosser to the mouth of Buffalo Creek was granted to the Government, that a road might be made. Other minor stipulations were agreed upon. Several notable speeches were made during the long confabs by Red Jacket and Farmer's Brother, which as preserved to us are undoubtedly in the language of Horatio Jones. At one point Col. Pickering spoke with great heat because of the presence of Johnson from Buffalo Creek, whom the United States commissioner regarded as a British spy. After he was sent away and feelings had cooled, Col. Pickering and about fifteen of the





chiefs dined together "by candle-light." "Many repartees of the Indians, which Jones interpreted, manifested a high turn for wit and humor.\* A few days later," wrote Savery, one of the Quaker delegates, "Red Jacket visited us with his wife and five children, whom he had brought to see us. . . . Jones came to interpret. Red Jacket informed us of the views which the Indians had in inviting us to the treaty, which Jones confirmed, being present at the council at Buffalo Creek, viz., believing that the Quakers were an honest people and friends to them, they wished them to be present, that they might see the Indians were not deceived or imposed upon."

Horatio Jones and Jasper Parrish were the interpreters at the treaty concluded September 15, 1797, at Geneseo, at which a contract was entered into, under the sanction of the United States Government, between Robert Morris and the Seneca Nation, for the sale to Morris of all the Indian lands in New York State west of the Genesee, excepting ten reservations aggregating 337 square miles.† This is known as the treaty of Big Tree. It is said that 3,000 Indians gathered for the occasion, the negotiations lasting three weeks. Here, even more strikingly than on any previous occasion, Horatio Jones was the medium of communication through whom the Six Nations signified their relinquishment of their rich domain. The principal arrangements at this treaty are said to have been made in the unfinished house of Col. Wadsworth, the Indians accepting \$100,000, to be deposited in the United States Bank, and paid in instalments.

Horatio Jones moved from his home at Fall Brook to the village of Williamsburg, but in 1797 he left it for Sweet Briar, as he named his farm, near Geneseo. The place was afterwards known as the Jones ford, and when the road was

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\* "Journal of William Savery," p. 73. Stone, in his "Life and Times of Red Jacket," follows Savery's account closely, but omits the references to Horatio Jones.

† For a full, accurate narrative of this transaction, the reader is referred to the address by Mr. W. H. Samson of Rochester, delivered before the Livingston Co. Historical Society in 1894, and published with other matter under the title "A History of the Treaty of Big Tree" (8vo, pp. 103), by the Livingston Co. Historical Society in 1897.



surveyed across the river at that point it was called the Jones road, and the bridge the Jones bridge. This was to be the home of his last years; and here, after his forty years of useful service to the United States Government, he gave his final years to the labors and pleasures of farm life, continuing active to the last.\*

In this same year Horatio Jones officiated in the execution of a contract whereby the Seneca Nation confirmed to Mary Jemison her title in the tract on the Genesee, where, for many years, she made her home.

The Senecas wished to give to Horatio Jones and Jasper Parrish a substantial proof of their friendship and good will. This motive brought them together at Geneseo in the year of 1798. The occasion proved to be of lasting importance in the history of Buffalo. The principal speech at this council was made by Farmer's Brother. As interpreted, signed by the chiefs present and submitted to the Legislature for approval, it ran as follows:

"BROTHERS: As you are once more assembled in council for the purpose of doing honor to yourselves and justice to your country, we, your brothers, the sachems, chiefs and warriors of the Seneca Nation, request you to open your ears and give attention to our voice and wishes.

"You will recollect the late contest between you and your father, the great King of England. This contest threw the inhabitants of this whole island† into a great tumult and commotion, like a raging whirlwind which tears up the trees, and tosses to and fro the leaves, so that no one knows from whence they come, or when they will fall. This whirlwind was so directed by the Great Spirit above, as to throw into

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\* Williamsburg, projected as a village south of Geneseo, no longer exists. The Sweet Briar farm where Capt. Jones ended his days is about three miles south of Geneseo, on the east side of the river, and is now (1903) owned by Mr. George Austin. Horatio Jones's old house is still standing and in good repair; a well-built two-story frame farmhouse, with a fine portico on the west or river side, and another on the south, the latter apparently a later construction. Some of the outbuildings date from Capt. Jones's time, and several of the fine old trees under which the Captain used to greet his Seneca friends, are still standing.

† The Indians universally considered this country an island.



our arms two of your infant children, Jasper Parrish and Horatio Jones. We adopted them into our families, and made them our children. We loved them and nourished them. They lived with us many years. At length the Great Spirit spoke to the whirlwind and it was still. A clear and uninterrupted sky appeared. The path of peace was opened, and the chain of friendship was once more made bright. Then these, our adopted children, left us to seek their relations; we wished them to remain among us, and promised, if they would return and live in our country, to give each of them a seat of land for them and their children to sit down upon. They have returned and have, for several years past, been serviceable to us as interpreters. We still feel our hearts beat with affection for them, and now wish to fulfil the promise we made them, and reward them for their services.

"We have, therefore, made up our minds to give them a seat of two square miles of land, lying on the outlet of Lake Erie, about three miles below Black Rock, beginning at the mouth of a creek known by the name of Scoy-gu-quoy-des Creek, running one mile from the River Niagara up said creek, thence northerly as the river runs two miles, thence westerly one mile to the river, thence up the river as the river runs, two miles, to the place of beginning, so as to contain two square miles.

"Brothers: We have now made known to you our minds. We expect and earnestly request that you will permit our friends to receive this our gift, and will make the same good to them, according to the laws and customs of our nation.

"Why should you hesitate to make our minds easy with regard to this our request? To you it is but a little thing; and have you not complied with the request and confirmed the gifts of our brothers the Oneidas, the Onondagas and Cayugas to their interpreters? And shall we ask and not be heard? We send you this our speech, to which we expect your answer before breaking up our great council fire."

This speech has been much admired, and deserves to be, for its strength of metaphor. But more than that, it adds



to the annals of Buffalo as signal an instance as may be found in all history, of the high-mindedness and rectitude of the red man. The Senecas, at any rate, were glad to reward faithful service, and their spokesman on this occasion was one of the noblest specimens of his race.

The tract, or rather tracts, of land which the Legislature confirmed to the interpreters in accordance with the wish of the Senecas, have borne the names of Jones and Parrish from that day to this. They were laid out by the Surveyor General of the State in 1803, and form the irregular north-western corner of the city. Both tracts are part of the Mile Strip, the Parrish tract being the southerly one, its south line following the Scajaquada, and its north line running from the Niagara, just above the mouth of Cornelius Creek, to near the west end of Race Street. Uniformly, on modern maps, and usually in land descriptions and title searches, the name is printed "Parish," but wrongly so, as numerous autograph signatures of Jasper Parrish prove. In 1824 Parrish sold a strip across the northerly side of his grant, 172.46 acres, to William A. Bird, and this has since been known as the Bird farm.

The Jones tract extends from the northerly line of the Parrish tract, running back one mile from the river, to what is now the southeast side of Riverside Park, along Esser Avenue, and intersecting lands between Doyle and Wiley avenues. The irregular extension of the city limits, north-westerly from the Jones tract, is bounded by a continuation of the northwest line of Riverside Park to an intersection with the easterly line of the Mile Strip. This old State reserve—the Mile Strip—is responsible for many peculiarities in the map of Buffalo.

In this year of 1798 Horatio Jones was witness of an incident that illustrates the summary character of frontier justice. It is told in the words of Judge Augustus Porter:

"A Mr. Jenkins who went out for the proprietors, John Swift and others, to survey township 12, 2d range (Palmyra), commenced his labors early in the season, and erected for the accommodation of his party a small hut of poles. One night when the party were asleep two Indians attacked





them, first firing their rifles through the open cracks of the hut, and then rushing in. One of Jenkins's men was killed by the first fire, but Jenkins and his party after a brief struggle succeeded in driving the savages off, without further loss. He went the next morning to Geneva where he learned that the Indian party to which they probably belonged had gone south. He accordingly, in company with others, followed in pursuit as far as Newtown (now Elmira) on the Chemung River, near which place the murderers were captured. Newtown was then the principal, indeed the only, settlement in that region of country. The Indians were examined before an informal assembly, and the proof being in their opinion sufficient to establish their guilt, the question arose as to how they should be disposed of. The gaol of the county (then Montgomery) was at Johnstown, and it was not deemed practicable to transport them so great a distance through an Indian wilderness. It was therefore determined summarily to execute them, and this determination was carried into immediate effect, an account of which I received from Jasper Parrish and Horatio Jones (afterward Indian agents), who were eye-witnesses of the execution.\* It is not unlikely that Jones and Parrish were included in the party of pursuit for the sake of their services as interpreters.

In 1802 Horatio Jones, with Oliver Phelps and Isaac Bronson bought from the Senecas for \$1200 the tract containing two square miles, or 1280 acres, known as Little Beard's reservation, "bounded," in the terms of the treaty, "on the east by the Genesee River and Little Beard's Creek, on the south and west by other lands of said parties of the second part, and on the north by Big Tree reservation." At this treaty, held at Buffalo Creek, and signed June 30, 1802, Jasper Parrish was the sole interpreter, Jones, as one of the parties to the contract, naturally not acting in his accustomed capacity. At the same gathering, however, and on the same date, he did serve as interpreter in a treaty between the Seneca Nation and Joseph Ellicott, representing Wilhelm

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\* Unpublished MS. narrative by Augustus Porter, in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society.



Willink and his company of Dutch land speculators at Amsterdam, by which a tract a mile wide along the south shore of Lake Erie, from the mouth of Eighteen Mile Creek to the Cattaraugus, and another tract on the south side of Cattaraugus Creek, were exchanged for lands lying to the north of the Cattaraugus, and now embraced in the Cattaraugus reservation.

Strange to say, Horatio Jones was not prominent on the frontier in the War of 1812, and his name rarely occurs in the history of that period. True, his home was not on the border in those troublous times, and he was no longer a young man. But he gave two sons to the cause; their story adds still another tragic episode to our chronicle. James and George Jones, serving under Major Bennett were captured with others, by the British and their Mohawk allies, near Lewiston, on December 19, 1813. The invaders, under Col. Murray, had landed at Five Mile Meadows, 500 strong, and at once entered upon that memorable march of destruction which laid waste the American frontier and culminated in the burning of Buffalo. On attempting a division of spoil at Lewiston, the Indian warriors quarreled, worked themselves into a frenzy, and soon, beyond all restraint by the British, fell upon their prisoners. Here, within sight of the spot where Horatio Jones had come out upon the crest of the mountain ridge on his memorable journey to Niagara, his two manly sons met the fate their father had so often narrowly escaped. They were put to death by the tomahawk, their bodies scalped and maltreated by the infuriated Mohawks.\*

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## XVI. ANECDOTES—DEATH OF HORATIO JONES.

From the restoration of peace in Western New York until the end of his life Horatio Jones lived in comfort, though frequently called from home to serve as interpreter. He was welcomed wherever he went. At his own home he was

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\* Some account of this massacre is contained in Turner's "Holland Purchase," p. 590.



ever a cordial host, to his Indian friends as well as to his white neighbors. There are many family traditions of these visits. Old Judy, and her husband, Tom Cayuga, a relative of the Jemisons, were warm friends of Horatio Jones, and often camped at Sweet Briar. But no friend had a warmer welcome than Moses Van Campen. Once a year the veteran came to visit Capt. Jones, and once a year the Captain journeyed to Dansville to see Van Campen. It is told that "the two old friends would sit down on the steps of the old Eagle tavern, drink grog and recall reminiscences of their early forest life, while crowds of friends gathered round to listen."\*

Capt. Jones was intimately acquainted with James Wadsworth, and on occasion was of great service to him. It was at James Wadsworth's, at Geneseo, in 1815, that Jones once more met his old adversary Sharp Shins. The occasion was a visit to the Wadsworth brothers of Col. Wadsworth of Durham. In his honor a dinner was given by James Wadsworth, several chiefs being invited. Apparently the old animosities between Jones and Sharp Shins were outgrown, for together at the Wadsworth board they discussed old times and smoked the pipe of peace. Some time in the '20's Horatio Jones fell on the stone steps of the Wadsworth office, displacing both kneecaps. He walked with a cane ever after.

Horatio Jones numbered among his friends William H. C. Hosmer, the distinguished poet of the Genesee valley, whose "Yonnondio" and other poems dealing with the life and legends of the Senecas are of enduring worth. For some of his material, as Dr. Hosmer acknowledges in the notes to his collected "Poetical Works" (New York, 1854), he was indebted to Capt. Jones. "I was informed by Captain Jones," he writes, "that the wild glen at Fall Brook, near Geneseo, has been the scene of a tragic story, and that the place is haunted, after night-fall, by a frightful headless spectre. The Indians believe that it is a spot accursed; but

\* MS. memorandum among Mr. Harris's papers. H. C. Sedgwick of Dansville, N. Y., has described his emotions as a boy on seeing Captain Horatio Jones and Major Moses Van Campen riding together in a carriage heading a Fourth of July parade.



the tourist looks with delight upon a scene where beauty contends for mastery with the sublime." Again he says, in his notes to the "Legends of the Senecas": "I have adopted, as the ground-work of my poem, the narrative of Captain Jones, late Indian interpreter, and a man who towered in intellectual stature above common men, as the pines (to use an Indian metaphor) rise above the smaller trees of the forest." Other acknowledgments are made in Dr. Hosmer's volume which show how deeply he was indebted to Horatio Jones for his material; for the narratives of Indian legend, and for guidance in the precise use of Seneca words. Indeed one may say that although not a man of the pen, Horatio Jones was truly—and indispensably—a joint author with Hosmer. Without his knowledge and painstaking communication of it to the poet the literature of Western New York, in its record of aboriginal life and beliefs, would be much the poorer.

The Hon. Charles Augustus Murray traveled in America in 1834-36, was the guest of Gen. Wadsworth, and met Horatio Jones, apparently in May, 1836. Of this visit he writes as follows: "During my stay in this neighborhood I went once or twice to see a western veteran, named Captain Jones. He was at the time of my visit, aged probably a little more than seventy years, and was taken prisoner when a boy by a band of the Seneca tribe in their attack upon Wyoming, [!] where he and his parents then lived. He was adopted by the tribe, and lived with them upwards of twenty years; since which time he has been in constant intercourse with them, and has acted in the capacity of interpreter in many treaties and 'talks.' Of course he speaks their language, and knows all their habits as well as a native Seneca, and he can also speak and understand a good deal of the Mohawk, Oneida, and other Six Nation languages. I had several long conversations with him upon aboriginal character, customs, etc., and I found that the old man was at heart more than half Indian. He spoke of many of the red men with an affection quite fraternal, and his general impression of their qualities was much more favorable than that which I received during my residence among them;





but two things must be remembered, first, his own judgment was liable to be prejudiced by his being so long identified with the Senecas, that even now the pride of the tribe is strongly to be remarked in his expressions; and, secondly, I have every reason to believe, from all my later inquiries and observations, that, of all the great tribes uncontaminated by civilization (alias whiskey), the most mischievous, treacherous, and savage are my old friends the Pawnees. Captain Jones told me that they had that character among all the Indians whom he had known."\* Murray is said to have received from Horatio Jones the information regarding Indian customs, etc., which he utilized in his tale "The Prairie Bird."

That Horatio Jones personally met George Washington can hardly be doubted, though no documentary evidence is known. He is said to have dined with the President on one occasion, in company with Tall Chief and a considerable deputation. In due course Tall Chief kindled the peace pipe and passed it to Washington, who tried unsuccessfully to draw smoke through the long stem. It was then handed to Horatio Jones, who succeeded better, and who then returned it to Washington, this time for a successful whiff. It may have been for this same occasion, apparently in the year 1792, that Capt. Jones and Joseph Smith had conducted to Philadelphia a party of Seneca, Oneida and Onondaga chiefs, for conference with the Government. It was at this convocation that the Chief Big Tree died from excessive eating.

Some years afterward Jones was in Washington with Follard, Thomas Jenison and other natives. Jones said to Follard, "I outran you, I think, some years ago," referring to the famous race of his youth. "Oh, yes," replied Pollard, "but I have often wanted to try it over again and you were never quite ready," a reply which greatly amused Jones.

\* "Travels in North America . . . including a Summer Residence with the Pawnee tribe of Indians," etc., 2 vols. London, 1839; vol. ii., pp. 358-9. It was characteristic of the British tourist, good observer though he was, to compare the scraps of information picked up by himself in a summer excursion on the plains, with Horatio Jones's fifty years of experience, and to describe the veteran's views as "prejudiced"!



Both men were then long past their fleet-footed years. Pol-lard died in 1838.

Many are the anecdotes told of Horatio Jones in his relations to various celebrities, both red and white. For many years, as intermediary between the two races, he was constantly in demand, not only in affairs of national consequence, but smaller matters as well. No white man knew Red Jacket better than did Horatio Jones. It is related that on one occasion in Buffalo, Red Jacket was wanted, on business with the Government agent, but could not be found. "Horatio Jones, who was to act as interpreter, after a long search, found him in a low tavern quite drunk. The porter, who was about shutting up the house for the night, was preparing to put him out of doors when Jones interposed."<sup>\*</sup> Jones cared for the tottering orator on many an occasion. Although knowing him in his weakness, Jones appreciated to the full the eloquence of Red Jacket. Indeed, from his familiarity with the Seneca tongue Horatio Jones could appreciate it, probably better than any other white man who ever heard him speak. Jones bore frequent testimony to this effect. On one occasion at Canandaigua Red Jacket was acting as counsel for an Indian who had killed a white man. In his appeal to the jury—through the interpretation of Horatio Jones—Red Jacket proved so eloquent that he won the sympathy of all auditors, including jury and judge, and gained his case. Captain Jones, although fluent in English, declared that it was utterly impossible for him to preserve the full force and beauty of the great Seneca orator's utterances.

Red Jacket, it is said, adopted Jones as his son. Stone in his life of Red Jacket relates the following: "On a certain occasion, owing to the slanderous imputation of some mischief makers of his nation, Red Jacket entertained a suspicion that Jones was actuated by motives of self-interest and did not regard the welfare of the Indians. Shortly after he met Capt. Jones at the hotel of Timothy Hosmer at Avon. Jones advanced to greet the chief with his accustomed cordiality of manner, but was received with haughty distrust

<sup>\*</sup> Doty, "History of Livingston County," p. 105.



and coldness. After a lapse of a few moments, during which time the questions of Jones were answered in monosyllables, the Captain asked an explanation of Red Jacket for his conduct. Fixing his searching glance upon him as if reading the secrets of his soul, Red Jacket told him of the rumor circulated in reference to his fidelity to the Indians, and concluded by saying with a saddened expression, 'And have you at last deserted us?' The look, the tone, the attitude of the orator were so touching, so despairing, that Jones, though made of stern material, wept like a child, at the same time refuting the calumny in the most energetic terms. Convinced that Jones was still true, the chief, forgetful of the stoicism of his race, mingled his tears with his, and embracing him with the cordiality of old, the parties renewed old friendship with a social glass." It is a pretty tale, but somewhat of a tax on credulity.

"Red Jacket did not relish being trifled with. At one of his visits to the house of Captain Jones, on taking his seat at the breakfast table with the rest of the family, Mrs. Jones, knowing his extreme fondness for sugar, mischievously prepared his coffee without it. On discovering the cheat the chief looked at the Captain with an offended expression, and thus rebuked him: 'My son,' stirring his cup with energy, 'do you allow your squaw thus to trifle with your father?' Perceiving at the same time by the giggling of the children that they had entered into the joke, he continued, 'And do you allow your children to make sport of their chief?' Jones and his wife apologized and the latter handed him the sugar bowl, which he took, and with half angry sarcasm filled his cup to the brim with sugar."

In September, 1822, we find Captain Jones at the Indian council at Buffalo; and the following year, again sharing with Jasper Parrish the duties of interpreter, Horatio Jones was present at Moscow, Livingston County, when the Senecas sold the Gardeau reservation to John Greig and Henry B. Gibson, 17,928 acres, for \$4286.

The influence which Horatio Jones exerted among the Senecas was never more strikingly illustrated than in the fall of 1794, when, with Cornplanter, Red Jacket, Tall Chief



and a large following, he was on his way to the Canandaigua council. On the trail at the foot of Honeoye Lake stood the large log house, where lived Capt. Peter Pitts, his wife and ten children. A party of warriors surrounded this house and demanded liquor. Being refused by the women, the Indians were beginning an attack which would probably have ended in the dire old way had not Capt. Pitts, his sons and hired men appeared on the scene, and seizing shovels, clubs, and anything they could lay hands on, set up a sturdy defense. The melee was general, and the whites would have been overpowered by superior numbers had not Horatio Jones with some of the chief men of the Senecas come over the western slope of the valley and on hearing the cries divined the trouble and hastened to the spot. It is related that on seeing Jones Capt. Pitts begged him for assistance; and that in a few moments Jones gained the attention of the crazy leaders, who desisted from their attack and left the pioneer's family unharmed. Before leaving the place Jones shamed and joked the warriors into good humor, and what had bid fair to be a tragedy was turned by the interpreter into a friendly parting.

There is a story of one encounter in which Jones was vanquished, though by a white man. In the spring of 1793 two guides, Bennett and Patterson, brought through to Williamsburg a party of colonists. The guides came upon a Seneca encampment, the Indians being gathered about a fire, engaged in a fierce discussion. As the day was cold, the guides drew near, were welcomed, and allowed to warm themselves, while the Indians continued their excited talk among themselves, directing their remarks to one of their number, whom they presently seized and threw into the fire. The fellow scrambled out, whereupon the Indians caught him and threw him back in again. Patterson had no idea what the trouble was about, but exclaimed, "Don't burn the man alive!" and springing forward helped the victim out of the fire. The angry warriors attacked Patterson, but at this moment Horatio Jones, who appears to have been of their party, came upon the scene and was told of the stranger's interference. Thereupon Jones and Patterson fell to fight-





ing; and tradition has it that for the first time in his life Jones met more than his match, and came off much the worse for the engagement; "but afterwards learning the cause of Patterson's action he banished all ill-will and regret, ever after expressing his admiration of the sturdy hunter."\*

Jacob G. Roberts of Tecumseh, Mich., has related that his father Peter and uncle John Roberts came to the Genesee flats and settled near Horatio Jones, in June, 1798. Jones helped them to locate and build their house. "About this time the Indians in the vicinity held a pow-wow and dance. In the tribe was one squaw who had committed some misdeed contrary to Indian rules, consequently she was not permitted to join in their sport. They had whiskey and a high time, and the squaw not being permitted to join in their festivities became so enraged that she shortly afterwards set fire to the flats; the weather during the fall having been very dry the fire spread rapidly and did serious damage, destroying all the hay in that vicinity. Mr. Jones in trying to save his ponies and other stock, became surrounded by fire and in order to save himself selected the greenest spot convenient, dropped on his face, and the wave of fire passed over doing him but little injury. Mr. Jones having the handling of moneys and paying off the Indians, kept back \$91, and paid the same to the new-comers in silver for the loss of their hay. This so enraged the Indians at this squaw that they drove a stake in the ground, tied her to it, piled wood around her, set it on fire and burned her to death. They invited our people to go and see her burn, but they did not go.' †

In his later years Horatio Jones was often called on to interpret in court in cases involving Indian prisoners or witnesses. One such famous case occurred in 1831, when one Quaw-wa, known in English as James Brewer, was wanted on a charge of murder. It was Capt. Jones and Jellis Clute

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\* McMaster gives the story in his "History of Steuben County," adding that many years later Jones and Patterson happened to be in Bath on the same day, when Jones told the story of the fight and sent his compliments to the old hunter.

† Doty's "History of Livingston County."



who made the formal complaint; Jones became bail for him after the offender had been found on the Buffalo reservation, and acted as sworn interpreter at the trial, at Geneseo.\*

Jasper Parrish died one month before Jones. When his death was reported, Capt. Jones said mournfully that the last link which had bound him to his old-time Indian associations was broken, and that he would not long outlast his old friend. From that time he sank rapidly until his death.

Horatio Jones died at Sweet Briar farm, near Geneseo, September 18, 1836, aged 72 years and 9 months. Five days later the *Livingston Republican* contained a sketch of his career, in which occurs the following just tribute:

"Possessed of uncommon mental vigor and quick perception, he was enabled to form a just estimate of character and determine with readiness the springs of human action and thus made himself useful to the early settlers of the valley as well as to the Indians. His bravery, physical energy and decision gave him great control over the Indians, and the perfect confidence they reposed in him afforded him the opportunity of rendering invaluable aid to the General Government in our subsequent treaties with the northern and western tribes. This confidence was never betrayed. . . . In the full possession of his mental faculties until the last moment of his life, he has gone down to his grave full of years and with a character above reproach." He is buried in Temple Hill Cemetery, Geneseo, where a monument bears a simple inscription to his memory, and also to Elizabeth, his last wife, who died March 4, 1844, aged 66 years.†

Horatio Jones is described as a fine figure of a man; not

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\* Doty gives the history of this case at some length in his "History of Livingston County," pp. 125-127.

† His grave stone at Geneseo, New York, bears the following inscriptions: "HORATIO JONES, Died August 18, 1836, aged 72 years and 9 months." On another side: "H. J. Esq., Honored in life, lamented in death."

"The patriot whose dust endears this spot,  
In boyhood for a bleeding country fought,  
Thus early in the cause of truth embarked,  
By kind ennobling deeds his life was marked.  
Age could not dim the sunshine of his breast—  
Beloved the most by those who knew him best.  
Such men have hearts for tablets when the bust,  
Triumphal arch and obelisk are dust."



tall, but exceptionally sturdy and athletic. In his later years, although weighing some 220 pounds, he continued of a fine commanding presence, with a manner of dignified cordiality. In a letter to Mr. Harris, Mrs. Charles C. Fitzhugh, a daughter of Horatio Jones, has written: "My father's face and his manner, in conversation, are as vivid in my memory as though yesterday we were together. He related his adventures, both in Indian and our own language, with the greatest ease. He must have had a wonderful flow of language for a person in those early days and one also who had lived the life that he had. As a child I recollect trotting after him as he was showing an Indian (and a very respectable looking one, too,) about his house. I said, 'Why, father, do you like him better than other Indians?' His answer was: 'My dear, he is my father; it was his family in which I was adopted when a prisoner.' 'Well, where is your mother?' 'She is dead.' This made a great impression upon me. I do not know where he came from; it must have been from a distance. It was the only time I ever saw him and his visit was short. He and Red Jacket were the only Indians my father ever received at his table."

The Hon. B. F. Angel, in conversation with Mr. Harris at Geneseo, September 29, 1889, related the following:

"The first time I saw Horatio Jones was about 1831, at the trial of an Indian named Quaw-wa, who had killed a reputed witch. I was a boy then, attending school, with little interest in such matters, but I recall that Capt. Jones acted as interpreter, and that his remarks left the court and audience in good humor. When the trial was ended Quaw-wa asked of Jones in broken English, 'Who beat—who beat?' I subsequently became intimately acquainted with him and married his daughter. The Indians gave him 3000 acres in the Genesee valley, extending nearly to Moscow. He has told me that the house he built at Hermitage was the first substantial house in the Genesee valley, and he removed it, or some portions of it, to Sweet Briar, his last home-  
stead.

"Horatio Jones died intestate, and left property valued at



\$100,000. I was appointed administrator, and the estate was settled amicably by his children.”\*

*[Genealogical data will be found on subsequent pages.]*

NOTE. Some use has been made in the foregoing narrative of documents preserved with the Pickering papers, in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Much more might be gleaned from them, did space allow, regarding Horatio Jones and some of the transactions in which he shared. In a letter dated “Genesee River, Oct. 24, 1790,” from William Ewing to Col. Wilson, Commissioner for Pennsylvania, in relation to the Senecas, the writer refers to Horatio Jones as “the only interpreter who can do the business write in this country,” and adds that Jones “thinks he has not been well used by not being called on to do the business at Tyoga as he has had all the trouble in getting the indians to start and I am fearful he will not prevent the indians of doing damage to us at this place.” There is a letter of the same date, written to Col. Pickering from Genesee, in which Capt. Jones makes claim for payment for his trouble in notifying the Senecas of the treaty at Tioga. It is signed “Horatio Jones,” but it is pretty certain that at that date Jones could neither read nor write. Numerous letters from him to Col. Pickering were presumably written for him by William Ewing. Late in life Jones learned at least to write his name, his signature, however, suggesting the school-boy’s scrawl.

The Pickering papers show that Col. Pickering lacked confidence in Jones, in his treaty transactions. He calls the interpreter “an unprincipled fellow,” and charges that Jones and Smith conspired to detain the Indians at Genesee, and keep them from attending Pickering’s treaty; “one great object with them,” wrote Pickering, “was to supply the Indians with provisions at their own prices as long as they should choose to obtain them at the expense of the United States. For this purpose they wrote to me that the Indians desired such supplies, but as this contradicted the verbal message of the chiefs sent to me by the runners, I paid no regard to the letters of Jones and Ewing.” The present editor has found no evidence that Jones ever thus profited by his great influence among the Senecas.

Among the Pickering papers are also numerous letters from Jasper Parrish, some of them of considerable historical value. These, and other unused material relating to the life and times of this interesting history-maker of Western New York, may be presented to our readers in a subsequent volume of these *Publications*.

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\* Much of Mr. Harris’s account of Horatio Jones’s captivity and events of his early life is based on information communicated by Mr. Angel.





# SARAH WHITMORE'S CAPTIVITY

IN 1782, HER LIFE AMONG THE MOHAWKS AND  
SENECAS, MARRIAGE TO HORATIO JONES,  
AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY.

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By MRS. SARAH E. GUNN,  
Of Leavenworth, Kas., great-granddaughter\* of Sarah  
Whitmore and Horatio Jones.

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The story of the life of Sarah Whitmore Jones is a romantic one, while lacking many essential details of fact.

She was born in or about the year 1768, in Lancaster Co., Pennsylvania. Her descent may be traced to those Palatine emigrants who came to America from Germany and adjacent provinces in large numbers, during the early part of the eighteenth century. The "Witmers," as the name is given in Rupp's "List of 30,000 Names," came from Switzerland, canton of Zurich. There were three brothers who came in 1733, to Philadelphia, and were of the Dutch Reformed faith. Peter Witmer was the ancestor of Sarah Whitmoyer, or in more modern form, Whitmore. The name became anglicized in the printed tax lists; from which source we learn that they became a numerous and prosperous family which extended over three counties of Pennsylvania --Lebanon, Lancaster and Chester.

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\* In the note on page 441 Mrs. Gunn is erroneously referred to as Sarah Whitmore Jones's granddaughter. It should read "great-granddaughter."



Early spring days in Eastern Pennsylvania are often accompanied by a sudden, light fall of snow, called a "sugar snow," because this is the perfect condition for making maple sugar. The "sugar bush," as the whole group of maple trees set apart to be tapped, is called, is usually some distance from the house. On this account, during the period of sugar-making, a camp is formed at the bush for greater convenience. The process of sugar-making requires both the men and women of the family; the former attend to collecting the sap from the trees which is then conveyed to the large kettles over the fires, where the women watch the boiling mass until it is ready for "sugaring off."

One of these spring mornings of 1782,\* the older members of the Whitmore family, consisting of the parents and three eldest children, started for the sugar bush, leaving Sally, a girl of about fifteen years, to mind the younger brothers and the baby, and to cook dinner. We can imagine the picture: the bright sunlight streaming into the room, the light-hearted girl singing at her work, the noisy little boys at play, while the baby snuggled in its cradle.

But the reverse of the picture is in sharp contrast. The children's merriment was cut short by the Indian war-whoop. Hideous in war-paint the savages rushed in and seized the two boys, while Sally caught up the baby, as if she could protect it from harm. The buildings were plundered and set on fire while the captive children were placed on horses in front of an Indian as guard. The smoke of the fire was the signal of the disaster to the other members of the family at the sugar bush, who hid themselves until the marauders had passed by. In all such cases, rescue was impossible, resulting only in greater loss of life.

The band of Indians which destroyed the Whitmore home, were only a fragment of a large party who were ravaging the country under Brant. An avenging party of whites were close in pursuit of them, so that they were in haste to rejoin the larger force and make their escape into

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\*The reader will notice discrepancies with Mr. Harris's account, preceding; in data relating to the Whitmores, Mrs. Gunn is probably correct, following the records of her family.



New York. To this fact, no doubt, the rest of the Whitmore family owed their escape.

As the party hurried along the baby in Sally's arms began to cry from fright. The Indian who had them in charge struck it harshly, which only increased its cries. Becoming enraged, he seized the child, and swinging the helpless little body around his head, brained it on a tree. Sally tried to save the baby, but was given to understand that a similar fate awaited the others if they did not submit quietly. The Indians made rapid progress and soon reached the boundary of New York.

A council was held and the fates of the white captives decided upon. The two young Whitmore boys were purchased by members of the British army. They were adopted into the family of a British officer and reared in Canada. After they were men with families, they revisited Pennsylvania to meet their relatives, but always returned to Canada. They have left many descendants, who are loyal subjects of the King.

Sally Whitmore remained with the Mohawks, the tribe which had taken her captive. The council decided to save her for adoption and marriage among themselves, a custom frequently occurring with a favorite captive.

This seemed a hard fate to the young girl, torn from home and friends, and separated, probably forever, from the little brothers who had been her companions in suffering. The outlook seemed hopeless, for already a stalwart chief of the tribe sought her for a mate. She was permitted to temporize, but knew that if she finally refused their terms, it meant death.

About this time occurred the assembly of all the tribes at what was known as the "Pigeon Roost." Near the shores of Seneca Lake was the rendezvous of thousands upon thousands of pigeons at mating and nesting time. For this reason, annually, the Indians assembled here for days and weeks together. The young birds were fat and juicy, and were devoured in large numbers; while the squaws smoked and cured great quantities of them for future use. Conse-



quently, with the Indians, the "Pigeon Roost" was synonymous of a feast and dance, and especially of a council.

The tribe having Sally Whitmore a captive, came with the others. Here she heard of the white captive of the Senecas, who by adoption and long captivity among them had become a chief, and admitted to their councils. We do not know that she knew that he was Horatio Jones, for while his capture had been made near her own home, it is not certain that the families were acquainted; besides, his own people had long mourned him as dead. Anyway, she resolved to appeal to him as a white man, sure to sympathize with one of his own race, and get his advice on what course to pursue. Sally was able to see him very soon and lay her case before him. She told him how averse she was to marriage with an Indian, and besought him to aid her evade it.

Horatio Jones knew how difficult was the task set him, but he did not dishearten her, but told her he would think it over and tell her the result on the next day. Doubtless his heart already suggested the plan his tongue had not uttered. Sally Whitmore, with her girlish figure and the clear olive skin, dark eyes and gentle voice of her people, must have been very pleasing in his sight. At their next meeting Sally was told that there was but one way to save her from the Indian marriage, and at the same time conform to their customs. Horatio had himself been forced to submit to such conditions and had done so to save his life, and tried to make the best of it, had gained their confidence and now had some influence. During the preceding year his Indian wife had died, and his lodge was empty. He would soon be expected to make a second choice; so if the plan suited her, he would ask her adopted parents for her in the usual manner among the Indians and he believed on account of his acquired standing with the Senecas his proposals would be accepted. In this way the girl would be under his protection, absolutely, and if they succeeded in gaining their release at some future time, the tie would be in no way binding upon them.

Sally was, of course, glad to accede to this plan and it was carried out. The Mohawk lover was vanquished by the favorite chief of the Senecas.





Their captivity did not last long afterward, as the treaty of Fort Stanwix released all prisoners; but the temporary arrangement agreed upon by them as captives, seems to have resulted favorably, for Horatio Jones and Sarah Whitmore were married by the celebrated missionary minister, Rev. Samuel Kirkland at Schenectady, in December [1784].

After a short visit to the old home in Pennsylvania, we learn of Mrs. Jones returning to New York, where her husband had established a trading post. Her first home was at Seneca Falls; from this point they moved to Geneva, where the first baby—"little Billy"—was born in December, 1786.

Mrs. Jones enjoyed the distinction of being the only white woman in that whole region and her baby with the sandy hair and blue eyes, the first white child born in the State west of Utica. Another boy, George, was born at Geneva in June, 1788.

In 1789, at the earnest request of the Senecas, the family came overland, through the unbroken forest, to the Genesee country, where they were to make a new home. Here, close to the Genesee River, on a portion of a large tract of land given to her husband by the Seneca Indians, Mrs. Jones went to housekeeping again. She had brought with her Sally Griffith, a servant girl, and the two women soon succeeded in making a home, with the bedding and whatever else could be brought from Geneva, over the trail, on horseback. Social needs were not great at that time, as the only guests were likely to be the Indian women from Little Beard's Town, nearby—if we except the trappers and friends of her husband.

In December, 1789, Hiram Jones, her third child, was born in the new house; and now, indeed, the mother's time was occupied. Much of the time her husband was away on business, as he had been appointed interpreter for the Senecas by the Government. At such times Mrs. Jones and her family were the only white people for miles. But she was never afraid, because the Indians held them as relatives, according to their rite of adoption, and no harm would come from that source.

James Jones, the fourth boy, was born in March of 1791.



He was the only one of the children who resembled his mother, inheriting from her his dark hair and eyes and a dark complexion.

Sally Griffiths seems to have returned to Pennsylvania about this time; and but a few weeks later, the life of the brave little mother came to a close, surrounded only by the Indian women. Even her husband was absent from home, on some urgent business, to which she had insisted he should attend. The news of his loss was conveyed to him, as he sprang from his horse beside the lonely little home in the forest.

The funeral which followed was as impressive as it was sad. Hiram Jones was but three years old at his mother's death, but the memory of the event remained clear upon his mind when an old man. The body was borne ahead on the shoulders of stalwart Indians; the little boy wrapped in a blanket by the squaw who held him before her on the horse, cried dismally, he scarcely knew why. The father and two other children followed on foot. The rain came down steadily and the tall gloomy trees surrounded them. Along the narrow trail through the silent forest the little procession made its way to the banks of the Genesee, which was crossed, then on again a little farther, where the grave was made in the side of a grassy knoll—facing her former home, left desolate. Here, laid to rest by the hands of her red brothers, Sarah Whitmore Jones has slept for more than a century.\*

When the demands of official and social life required of Horatio Jones a more pretentious residence than the little home on the Flats, he selected a site on the summit of the hill, overlooking the grave of his wife, and named the place "Sweet Briar," where he spent the rest of his life.

Even after the lapse of so many years, we may still find traces of the tender reverence borne for the memory of Sarah Whitmore. A daughter of her husband's second marriage bore her name, and the only daughter of each of her two surviving sons was named for their mother.

NOTE. The name of the daughter of William Jones was afterward changed to Julia, for reasons which she herself explained to the writer.

\* Mrs. Jones died in June, 1792. Charles Jones stated to Mr. Harris that she was buried in the Indian burying-ground, "where the railroad gravel-pit now is, on the south side of the creek." No trace of it now can be found.



# NOTES ON THE ANCESTRY AND DESCENDANTS OF HORATIO JONES.\*

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## I. ANCESTRY.

Rev. Malachi Jones, founder of the Abington and Downington branches of the Jones family of Pennsylvania, was born in Wales about 1651. He entered the ministry at an early age, and is reported to have been at one time established in London, though there is little proof of this. He married Mary ——— about 1681-2. Benjamin, their first child, was born in March, 1683; Ann, in 1686; Mary, in 1688; Elizabeth, Martha, Malachi and Joshua doubtless prior to 1700, but the exact dates of their births have not been found.

During the first decade of the 18th century large numbers of Welsh left their native land for America and settled mainly in Pennsylvania. Among the new colonists were several families named Jones. Doubtless some were relatives of the Rev. Malachi and possibly through their influence and other outgoing friends, he was persuaded, about 1714, to emigrate to Pennsylvania, settling at Abington, fourteen miles north of Philadelphia. In September, 1714, Mr. Jones was received into fellowship by the Presbytery of Philadelphia, which had then been organized eight years and numbered eleven ministers. During that year a church organization was perfected at Abington with Rev. Malachi Jones as pastor. The First Presbyterian Church, or Great Valley Church, was organized in 1714, and the Rev. Malachi Jones officiated as pastor till 1720. This church is about twenty miles, in an air line, from Abington, and Mr. Jones no doubt officiated in both congregations.

August 25, 1719, Rev. Mr. Jones deeded to certain trustees for ten shillings in silver, one half acre of land to "build a house of worship thereon and bury the dead." On this ground the congre-

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\* Compiled from MSS. left by George H. Harris, and from data supplied by Mrs. Sarah J. E. Gunn of Leavenworth, Kas., Mrs. Frederick Larr Olmsted, Brookline, Mass., and Mrs. Anna Jones Prettyman Howland of Chicago.



gation erected a log building, said to have been the first place of public worship possessed by the Presbyterian denomination within the limits of Montgomery County.

The Rev. Malachi Jones was buried in the graveyard of the church he founded and his tombstone, a large flat slab supported upon four pieces of brick, is still to be seen there bearing the following inscription:

Here lyes the Body of  
The Rev'd Mr. Malachi Jones  
Who departed this life March ye  
26 In the year 1729.  
Aetatis Suae 78.  
He was the first minister of this place  
Dum Nihi Vita Fuit, Tibi  
Christi Fidilis ut is Sum.

At the foot of the stone is the grave of the Rev. Mr. Jones's granddaughter Mary; also that of her husband, the Rev. Richard Treat, the second pastor of Abington Church, who died November 29, 1779, after a ministry of nearly fifty years.

Of the children of the Rev. Malachi Jones, Benjamin married Katharine Crusan, October 12, 1717. They had ten children, as follows: Malachi, 1718; Elizabeth, 1721; Samuel, 1722; Benjamin, 1725; Mary, 1727; Joshua, 1732; Henry, 1734; Katherine, 1736; John, 1739; Ann, 1741.

Benjamin Jones died at Abington November 10, 1748. Ann married the Rev. David Evans and died January 7, 1754. Mary married Abenego Thomas and had six children. (Her eldest daughter, Mary, was the wife of Rev. Richard Treat, and had five children.) Joshua married Hannah Givin, September 6, 1735; Elizabeth married David Parry, January 6, 1727; Martha married John Parry, November 5, 1729; Malachi, 2nd, married Mary Parry, November 27, 1729.

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Malachi Jones, son of the Rev. Malachi and Mary Jones, was born probably about 1695, in Wales, and emigrated with his parents to America prior to September, 1714. He married, November 27, 1729, Mary Parry, daughter of James and Ann Parry, the marriage of whose children brought the Jones and Parry families into close relationship, three of their children having married three children of the Rev. Malachi and Mary Jones. James and Ann Parry came from Wales probably as early as 1712, as a deed of 100 acres of land in Fredyffrin, Stony Valley Township, Pennsylvania, their home, was dated January 20, 1713.

Malachi, 2nd, succeeded his father in possession of the homestead in Abington, where his aged mother continued to reside. In





June, 1747, he purchased a lot on Fourth Street, Philadelphia. He removed about 1753 to Whiteland Township, Chester County, and died the next year. His will, dated August 12, 1753, appoints his wife Mary, executrix and directs her to "dispose of all my estate to the use that therefrom she may cheerfully maintain my weak and feeble children . . . eldest son Horatio to be joint executor . . . all my children, Horasho, Esther, Martha, Malachi, Ruth, Stephen, William, Lynand and Abenego."

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William, the seventh child of Malachi (2nd) and Mary Parry Jones, was born about 1741-2, while his parents resided at the old homestead in Abington. He married in 1762 Elizabeth Hunter, daughter of John and Ann Hunter of Downingtown, Pa., and they became residents of Downingtown about that time. They had seven children, viz.: HORATIO JONES, the eldest, born November 19, 1763; George; Esther; Ann; Mary; John Hunter; William.

About 1769 William Jones moved to Baltimore Co., Maryland, where John H. was born. He returned to Pennsylvania about 1771-2 and settled in Bedford County.

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John Hunter, Sen., was born in County York, England, in 1667. He was a trooper with his friend Anthony Wayne at the battle of the Boyne, and settled at Rathween, County of Wicklow, Ireland. He married Margrate ———, about 1693. In 1722, Mr. Hunter and Anthony Wayne emigrated to the Pennsylvania Colony and settled in what is now Newtown Township, Bucks Co., Pennsylvania, where Mr. Hunter purchased 1,000 acres of land. He died in 1734, being buried at St. David's Church, Radnor, Pennsylvania.

John and Margrate Hunter had nine children, viz.: George Hunter, who settled in Whiteland Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania, and became proprietor of a large estate; John Hunter (2d); Peter, a soldier in the French War; William, married Hannah Woodward in 1740; James; Mary, married William Hill, an emigrant from Wales; Ann; Elizabeth; Margrate (2d).

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John Hunter, Jr., son of John and Margrate Hunter; settled at Downingtown in Whiteland Township, Pennsylvania, thirty miles from Philadelphia, and accumulated a large amount of real and personal property. He married Ann ———, and had eight children, namely: James, died in 1781; Margrate, married William Buell; Ann, married Col. Thomas Buell; Mary, married Eli



Bently; John, died young; Martha, married John Ratlen; Hannah, married Malachi Jones (3rd), in 1759; Elizabeth, married William Jones, in 1762.

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## II. DESCENDANTS OF HORATIO JONES AND SARAH WHITMORE.

Captain HORATIO JONES married (1st) in 1784, SARAH WHITMORE (name also spelled Whittemore, Whitmoyer), who died June, 1792. They had four children:

(1) William W., born December 18, 1786, at Seneca Lake outlet, near the present site of Geneva, died, 1870, at Leicester. He was twice married; first to Eliza (or Elizabeth) Lemen; after her death, to Nancy Harrington.

(2) George W., born 1788; unmarried, killed by Indians at Lewiston, December, 1813.

(3) Hiram W., born 1789; married Verona Shepherd.

(4) James W., born 1791; unmarried, killed by Indians at Lewiston, December, 1813.

### *I. Descendants of William W. Jones.*

Children of Horatio's oldest son William W., by his first wife, Eliza Lemen: 1, Julia, married John H. Jones, Jr.; 2, George W., unmarried; 3, James W., married, died young, leaving one daughter.

Children of Julia and John H. Jones, Jr.: 1, Elizabeth, married James W. Jones (son of Hiram), no issue; 2, Edward, died an infant; 3, Delia, died an infant; 4, Edward, died an infant; 5, Delia, died unmarried, 1891; 6, Jane, died young; 7, Alma, died young.

Children of Horatio's oldest son William W., by his second wife, Nancy Harrington:

William, married Caroline Camp, no issue; Elizabeth, married Edward Camp, one son, one daughter; Flora; Nancy, married Jellis Clute, their children Fayette and George; Homer, married Fannie Wicker; later married Josephine De Rochemont, no issue; Mary, married Albert Phillips, one daughter.

### *II. Descendants of Hiram W. Jones and Verona Shepherd.*

George W., married Emma Hutton; Sarah E., married Alexander Clute (grandson of John H. Jones, Sr.); James W., married Elizabeth L. Jones (daughter of John H. Jones, Jr.), no issue; Hiram, died young.



Children of George W. and Emma Hutton: Edward, unmarried; Grace, married George Hudson; Mary, unmarried.

Children of Sarah E. Jones and Alexander Clute: James H., married Almira Glines; Charles O. S., married Marion Brown; Sarah J. E., married Chester B. Gunn, no issue.

Children of James H. and Almira Clute: William; Charles; Ella, married, one son; Elizabeth.

Children of Charles O. S. and Marion (Brown) Clute: Charles Benjamin; Frederick; Grace; Myrtle; James.

William W. Jones (1) died in the winter of 1870 at Leicester, N. Y.

### III. DESCENDANTS OF HORATIO JONES AND ELIZABETH STARR.

Captain HORATIO JONES married (2) in the summer of 1795 at Groveland, near Geneseo, N. Y., ELIZABETH STARR. She was a daughter of Elijah and Rebecca (Hewitt) Starr, and was born in 1779, probably at Genoa, Cayuga Co., N. Y. She died March 4, 1844, at Geneseo, N. Y. She bore to Horatio Jones twelve children, as follows:

Horatio, born 1796, married Julia Villenording; Mary Ann, born 1798, married Richard Fitchugh; John, born 1799, married Lucy Tremley; Ann, born 1802, married William Lyman; Rebecca, born 1804, married Elijah Hewitt (also spelled "Hubert"); Elizabeth, born 1805, married William Finley; Sarah, born 1807, married Dr. Henry Perkins; Hester, born 1809, married Robert Elliot; Julia, born 1811, married Benjamin F. Angell; Susan, born 1813, died in California after 1852; Charles, born 1815; John, born 1818, married Charles Carr & Fitchugh.

Horatio, and Mary Ann Lyman lived at Moscow, N. Y.; Rebecca Hewitt at Geneseo; Betsy Finley at Ann Arbor, Mich.; Hester Elliot, wife of Julia Robert Elliot, at Royal Oak, Mich.; Julia Angell at Geneseo, N. Y.; Charles, at Leicester and Geneseo; Jane Fitchugh, at Saginaw, Mich.

Charles Jones, youngest but one of Horatio Jones's sixteen children, was born August 27, 1815, at Sweet Briar farm, near Geneseo. He went to Temple Hill Seminary, 1823, Central Islip Academy, 1830-32, and engaged in farming at Leicester, 1840. October 22, 1845, he married Ellen Richardson of Aurora, Cayuga Co. She died December, 1891, having one daughter who died January 1, 1890, aged 13 years. On June 3, 1856, Charles married Sarah E. Cummings of New Bedford, Mass. Charles died February 20, 1899.



A grandson of Capt. Horatio Jones, named Horatio Jones Hewitt, died in New York City, date not ascertained, but since 1889. He was born November 25, 1828, in Greece, N. Y.; learned the printer's trade, went to Chicago, where he became one of the founders of the *Chicago Tribune* and a stockholder in the company. He married Margaret Lovett of Rochester; left Chicago in 1857, went to New York and engaged in printing. He invented a rotary press and other devices valuable in the printer's art. Up to 1889 he was in business at No. 27 Rose Street, residing at No. 247 W. Twenty-fifth Street. He was a personal friend of Horace Greeley. He left a widow and six adult children, two sons and four daughters.

A granddaughter of Horatio and Elizabeth (Starr) Jones, and daughter of Sarah and Henry Perkins, is Mrs. Frederick Law Olmsted of Brookline, Mass., wife of the eminent landscape architect and park maker, lately deceased.

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#### IV. DESCENDANTS OF JUDGE JOHN H. JONES.

John H. Jones was a younger brother of Captain Horatio Jones. He came from Pennsylvania—one account says in 1792, another says 1794—and settled on a part of the Jones and Smith tract, on the west side of the Genesee. He was for many years the first judge of Genesee County when that county extended from the Genesee River to Lake Erie and the Niagara; a man of distinguished ability. He married Kate Ewing; their children were: William, George H., Harriet (Mrs. Clute), Marietta (Mrs. Jones), Horatio, Thomas J., Napoleon B., John H., James M., Lucien B., Hiram, Elizabeth Hunter (Mrs. Jones), and Fayette.





# THE STORY OF CAPTAIN JASPER PARRISH,

CAPTIVE, INTERPRETER AND UNITED STATES SUB-  
AGENT TO THE SIX NATIONS INDIANS.\*

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Jasper Parrish with his father was captured on the 5th day of July, 1778, by a small party of Monsie† Indians, and conducted by them up the Delaware River to a place called Cook House, where they arrived six days afterwards. Ten‡

\* This narrative is here published from the original manuscript by kind permission of the owner, Mrs. William Gorham of Canandaigua, whose late husband was a grandson of Jasper Parrish. Regarding certain peculiarities of the narrative Mrs. Gorham writes: "We do not know who wrote it. . . . We know that Jasper Parrish dictated it; I have heard his daughter, my mother-in-law, say so many times." The manuscript is not dated, but alludes to "the present time, 1822," which fixes the year of its composition.

There is in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society a copy of an unpublished paper written by the Hon. Orlando Allen, about 1820. This paper includes a sketch of Parrish's captivity, which, wrote Mr. Allen, "I copied from a paper lent me by his grand daughter, Mrs. Carrie Draper, nee Cobb, of Canandaigua." The biography thus incorporated bears the following heading: "A Sketch of the Captivity of the late Captain Jasper Parrish, Sergeant-at-law, Big Throat, as he was named by the Indians, prepared by his son Stephen Parrish, from short notes written by his father a few years before his death which occurred at Canandaigua, his place of residence, July 12, 1830, aged 60 years and 4 months."

The two narratives, that which we here print, and that written by Stephen Parrish, in the main relate the same incidents, but in different phraseology; both drawn from Jasper Parrish's own notes, but written out either by different persons or by Stephen Parrish at different times. We print the latter document, with occasional reference to the Stephen Parrish narrative among the Orlando Allen papers. The latter begins with the following statement, not contained in the Gorham MS.: "My father was born in the year 1707, at Windham, Conn., and removed with his father's family, at a very early day, to some point across the head waters of the Delaware River, in the State of New York."

† Munseys, a branch of the Delawares.

‡ "Two days," Stephen Parrish narrative.



days from their arrival at Cook House, the father was taken to the British at Fort Niagara, where he was surrendered to them, and two years thereafter was exchanged as a prisoner of war and returned to his family.

When captured, Jasper Parrish and his father were about six miles from home and had five horses with them. Cook House, where they were first conducted, was a small place where eight families of the Monsie tribe of Indians resided. While in this situation Jasper Parrish belonged to a captain or war chief of this tribe by the name of Captain Mounsh. In a few days after reaching Cook House Captain Mounsh left his prisoner in the charge of an Indian family and went off to the West. During this time the Indians offered no violence to young Parrish, who was then a boy only eleven years old. He was permitted to ride one of their horses, and in other respects was treated with much kindness.

While with this family he was very ill with dysentery, owing to a change of diet and habits. The Indians tried to relieve him by administering some of their remedies, but he was so afraid that they would poison him that he refused. At length, however, he consented, and the medicine gave him immediate relief, so that in a few days he entirely recovered. The medicine was a black syrup made from roots and herbs.

The Indians generally appeared to be friendly and took good care of him; at the same time they said that by and by they would take the Yankee boy's scalp, accompanied with motions and gestures of scalping. This conduct of the Indians kept him in continual apprehension, until his master, Capt. Mounsh, returned.

On the 1st of October, Capt. Mounsh set out with his prisoner for Chemung. The first settlement of Indians they came to was on the Big Bend on the Susquehanna River. They continued without delay until they reached Chemung, where they remained the following winter. On their arrival at that place and before they entered the village, young Parrish's master gave the Indian scalp halloo very loud, which is a long drawn sound, the accent on the



last *a* and pronounced like "quaqa." At this the Indian men and boys came running from every part of the village to the center. This was a very noted place to make prisoners run the gauntlet. As soon as they came to the center of the village, the Indians set up a horrid yell, and came running to Capt. Mounsh and his prisoner as they were riding, and getting hold of young Parrish bore him with great violence from his horse to the ground, and like so many tigers began to beat him with clubs, whips and handles of tomahawks. At length after he received a terrible beating, his master interfered, and spoke very loud to them in the Monsie language, and said, "It is enough." At this they stopped beating him, and after a short time he was able to get up and was conducted to an Indian hut or cabin, where he remained until the next day, being completely covered with bruises.

In a few days he was sold to a Delaware Indian family who lived on the south side of the Tioga River. They paid the sum of twenty dollars for him. Immediately his former master left the place and went west to Fort Niagara, where, in a drunken frolic with another Indian, he was stabbed and killed.

Young Parrish remained with the Delaware family on the Tioga River\* during the winter and spring of 1779. During the winter he was very scantily clad, and his suffering from both cold and hunger was great, the winter being long and severe. His food was the same as that of the Indians and consisted of venison, wolf, dog, fox and muskrat, and some wild fowls. Very little corn was to be found at this time among the Indians, and salt was not to be had as there were no white people short of Niagara to whom they could apply for relief. During the winter he was compelled with two Indian boys (the snow was very deep) to go down to the river, a distance of thirty rods, and then throw off their blankets and jump in the river through a hole cut in the ice, then put on their blankets and return to the cabin. This he was obliged to go through repeatedly in the coldest

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\* "An Indian family of the Delaware tribe who resided near the village on the south side of the Tioga River."—S. P.



weather, which was done, the Indians told him, to make him tough so he might stand the cold weather.

When the Spring opened and the warm weather came on, he with the Indians was accustomed to go hunting, fishing and digging ground-nuts to procure something to support themselves. They continued this manner of living until the middle of the summer, when he and three Indians went up the Tioga to a place called Chemung Narrows on a hunting trip for a few days. While encamped here near the river the Indians killed several deer. In three or four days after they arrived, the Indians got out of lead, and one evening as they were sitting by the fire, one of them remarked that he would get some tomorrow. Parrish thought it very strange that he should be able to obtain lead in one day when there were no white people of whom they could procure it nearer than Niagara. However, the next morning the three Indians took their guns and went off as usual, as he supposed hunting. In the afternoon the Indian who spoke of getting lead returned with about a peck of lead ore tied up in his blanket; dropped it before the fire, and directed Parrish to make up a large fire with dry wood, which he did. The Indian placed the ore on the top of the fire and scraped away the ashes under the fire so as to give a place for the lead to run into as it melted. Then with an iron ladle he dipped up the lead and poured it into pieces of bark as it melted, until the whole was separated from the dross. Parrish thought that he must have obtained from eight to ten pounds of pure lead. Three days after the Indians returned with him to Chemung.

By this time Parrish had been a captive with the Indians for about one year, during which time he had seldom heard the English language spoken. He had acquired enough of the Indian language to understand their conversation very well and could speak so as to be understood by them. He remained at this place with the Indian family that had bought him until the last of August, 1779, at which time Gen. Sullivan was marching with his army into the Indian country to chastise them for their many enormities. The Indians were collecting a large force at Newtown, near El-





mira, to attack Gen. Sullivan, and selected a point about four miles below Newtown, where they intended to make the contemplated stand and surprise him, if possible while he was advancing. They had placed the baggage, squaws and provisions about one mile back from where they were lying in wait for Sullivan; had gathered together a large war party, among whom were some few whites, and they were very confident of success. Soon after the battle began the Indians found that they could not hold their position, as Sullivan was making an attempt to surround them, and they immediately dispatched a runner to the place where the squaws, baggage and provisions were left with directions for them to pack up and retreat up the river to Painted Post, which they immediately did. Parrish and a number of young Indians were among the party. The Indians being hard pressed soon retreated from the battleground and next day overtook them at Painted Post.

The party of Indians who had charge of Parrish immediately took up their march westward by way of Bath, Geneseo, Tonawanda and so on to Fort Niagara, then a British post. Here they remained till late in the Fall, furnished with salt provision by the British, which the Indians being unaccustomed to, occasioned a great deal of disease and death.

A short time after the whole of the Six Nations of Indians were encamped on the plain around the Fort. While thus encamped they had a general drunken frolic, which resulted in the death of one Indian. Upon this the Indian law of retaliation was resorted to by the friends of the dead Indian, and in less than an hour five Indians were lying dead, before the chiefs could restrain their warriors.

While at Fort Niagara with the Delaware family, Parrish learned that the British were offering a guinea bounty for every Yankee scalp that was taken and brought in by the Indians. He was afterwards told that they offered this bounty for the purpose of getting the Indians to disperse in small war parties on the frontier of the State as they were becoming very troublesome at Fort Niagara.

Parrish was with them in camp at this place about six



weeks. At a certain time a number of the Indians belonging to the same family as his master got drunk in the evening. Two of the Indians were left alone with Parrish at the camp, and were sitting on the side of the fire opposite to him. They soon fell into conversation how they could procure some more rum. After a short time one of them observed to the other, they would kill the young Yankee and take his scalp to the Fort, and sell it and then they would be able to buy some more rum. The young Yankee understood all the conversation and put himself on his guard in case they should make an attempt against him. In a few minutes one of the Indians drew a long half-burned brand from the fire and hurled it at Parrish's head, but he being on the alert dodged the brand, sprang up and ran out into the bushes which surrounded the encampment. The Indians attempted to follow him, but being drunk and the night very dark Parrish escaped them, keeping away until the next morning and the Indians became sober, when he returned again to the camp. While he was with the Indians near Niagara, five died out of his master's family, including his wife.

One day Parrish's Indian master took him into Fort Niagara, where he offered to sell him to the white people, none of whom appeared willing to purchase him. At length his master met with a large, fine, portly-looking Mohawk Indian by the name of Capt. David Hill, who bought him from his Delaware master for the sum of \$20, without any hesitation. Capt. Hill was then living on the plain immediately below and adjoining the Fort. He led Parrish away and conducted him to his home or cabin, where having arrived Capt. Hill said to him in English, "This is your home; you must stay here."

His reflections were not very pleasant on his change of masters, after becoming well acquainted with the Delaware language to be under the necessity of acquiring a new one; the Mohawk differing entirely from the Delaware. Then, to make new acquaintances and friends after becoming attached as he did to his Delaware master.\* The change of masters, however, proved to be very fortunate and happy.

\* "He had been very well treated by his Delaware protector."—S. P.



Parrish resided in Capt. Hill's family five years and upwards, during all of which time they furnished him with the necessary Indian clothing and an abundance of comfortable food. He passed all that time in traveling with the Indians and in hunting, fishing and working, but they never compelled him to do any hard work, or anything beyond his ability or endurance.

In the month of November, 1780,\* the chiefs of the Six Nations held a general council with the British at Fort Niagara. Capt. Hill took his prisoner into the midst of this council, and into the midst of the assembled chiefs, and in the most formal manner had him adopted into his family as a son. He placed a large belt of wampum around his neck, then an old chief took him by the hand and made a long speech such as is customary among the Indians on similar occasions. He spoke with much dignity and solemnity, often interrupted by the other chiefs with exclamations of "Ma-ho-e," which is a mark of attention and approbation. After the speech was concluded the chiefs arose and came forward and shook hands with the adopted prisoner and the ceremony closed. His Indian father then came to him and asked him to return home. He remained here at Fort Niagara with him during the following winter.

In May [1781] Capt. Hill and the Mohawk Indians removed to and made a settlement at a point higher up on the Niagara River at a place now known as Lewiston. Here Parrish lived among the Mohawks in the family of his Indian father and mother until the close of the Revolutionary War. During this time he was frequently with Capt. Hill traveling among other tribes and nations of Indians, invariably receiving from his adopted father's family and other Indians among whom he sojourned, the greatest kindness; his wants were attended to, and many acts of kindness were shown him, as well as many favors during his captivity.

In September, 1784, a treaty of peace between the United States and the six nations of Indians was held at Fort Stanwix, now Rome, Oneida Co., at which the Indians promised

\*S. Parrish's narrative says "November, 1779;" 1780 is right.



to give up all prisoners captured and detained among them, belonging to or captured in the United States. There were at this time among the Six Nations ninety-three white prisoners, Parrish among the number. On November 29, 1784, he left Lewiston accompanied by the Indians to be surrendered at Fort Stanwix. Immediately afterwards he set out on his return to his own family and friends, whom he had not heard from, or of, during his long captivity, but whom he at length found at Goshen, Orange Co., N. Y. He had heard the English language so rarely, and had been so totally unaccustomed to speak it himself that he could with difficulty make himself understood. He was destitute of education and was able to devote but very little time to school on his return home, receiving only nine months' schooling.\* With this exception he was wholly self-taught and educated from his after-reading and intercourse with the world.

In November, 1790, he was requested by Timothy Pickering, commissioner on the part of Congress to act as interpreter between the Seneca Indians and the Government at a treaty held at that time at Tioga Point. He was called upon again by the same commissioner to act as interpreter at another treaty at Newtown Point (near Elmira), in July, 1791. This treaty was held with the Six Nations of Indians. Here he gained a good deal of commendation and applause from the commissioner and the Indians for the very accurate and faithful manner in which he rendered the Indian language. In April, 1792, he was appointed by President Washington as a standing interpreter for the Six Nations of Indians, and was instructed to reside at Canandaque under the direction and instruction of Gen. Israel Chapin, then agent to the Six Nations.†

In November, 1794, another treaty was held with the Six Nations at Canandaigua, the Hon. Timothy Pickering presiding as commissioner on the part of the United States, where again he was the principal interpreter. This treaty

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\* "About a year."—S. P.

† His salary was \$200 per year. (Letter, Pickering to Parrish.)





now remains as the governing treaty between the Six Nations and the United States to the present time, 1822.

After serving as interpreter thirteen years, he was appointed sub-agent and interpreter by the President of the United States, on the 15th of February, 1803.\* These two appointments he held through all the successive administrations down to the second term of Gen. Jackson, transacting all kinds of business between the United States and the Six Nations, and also between the State of New York and the Indians. He also officiated as interpreter and was present at very many other treaties during his term of office. He was very anxious to civilize the Indians by inculcating among them habits of industry and instructing them how to cultivate their lands and endeavoring to impress them with the use of property and the value of time. In his endeavors to effect this object, he has found a friendly disposition among the Oneidas and Tuscarora tribes, and among the Senecas residing at the Buffalo Reservation, except Red Jacket, to welcome missionaries and schoolmasters, and all instruction calculated to ameliorate their condition. Teachers and missionaries meet with considerable encouragement among them, and the children of the above-named tribes are receiving from schools very great benefit. Much good has already been accomplished and greater advancement been made in six years in husbandry than have been made in forty years before. They are tilling their land much better, making good fences and building more comfortable dwellings for themselves.

The means that are placed in the hands of the agents by the Government enable them to furnish each tribe annually with all necessary farming utensils, and all implements of

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\* The following is copied from the War Department records:

To Jasper Parrish Esquire.

Sir: You are hereby with the approbation of the President of the United States, appointed a Sub-Agent, to the Six Nations of Indians, residing within the territories of the said United States, now under the general superintendence of Callender Irvine Esquire. For your government in discharging the various duties of this appointment, you will from time to time, be furnished with general instructions, and particular directions, as circumstances may call for, or render necessary. Your compensation will be a salary of four hundred & fifty dollars, per annum, payable quarter Yearly.

Given under my hand at the War Office of the United States this 15th day of February 1803.

(L. S.)

H. DEARBORN.



husbandry to enable them properly to till the land, and they are instructed how to use them. They are thus able to raise a considerable surplus of grain beyond what is needed for their own consumption, instead of being dependent upon the precarious results of the chase.

During the time I\* was prisoner among them for six years and eight months, and for many years subsequent to the Revolutionary War, the use of the plough was entirely unknown to them, but they are now familiar with almost every essential farming implement. Notwithstanding this great advance toward improvement, and all the efforts made by the Government and citizens to Christianize the Six Nations, the noted Red Jacket has been and still is violently opposed to all innovations upon their old customs, and all changes in their condition. He says they were created Indians, and Indians they should remain, and that he will never relinquish their ancient pagan customs and habits.

**FURTHER DATA ON JASPER PARRISH.** The foregoing narrative, written fourteen years before the death of Jasper Parrish, is of course without allusion to his later years. His services as interpreter merit a fuller record than the present editor can here make. It has been shown in preceding pages of this volume how often he was associated with Horatio Jones, at treaties and councils; and he shared with his fellow-interpreter the favor of the Senecas, marked by their gift to him of the mile square on the Niagara now known as the Parrish tract. Jasper Parrish bore a prominent part in the negotiations which culminated in the treaty held at Albany, August 20, 1802, at which the Senecas sold to the State the tract a mile wide, extending from Buffalo Creek along the Niagara River to "Stedman's farm," at Fort Schlosser. They received for this land \$200 down, \$5300 to be paid later, and \$500 worth of calico for their women; also the right to go upon the Mile Strip to fish in the river, to cross the Niagara ferry free of charge, and to be exempt from tolls on roads and bridges. Embodied in this treaty were the grants to Jasper Parrish and Horatio Jones of a mile square, heretofore described. Jones does not appear to have attended this treaty at Albany. Parrish was the interpreter, and the next day (August 21st) appeared before Justice James Kent to certify to the genuine-

\* The original MS. here changes from the third person to the first; evidently the writer concluded the narrative in Jasper Parrish's own words.



ness of the Indian consents. March 14, 1803, Parrish, Farmer's Brother, Young King and Benjamin DeWitt certified that the Senecas had received the full amount stipulated in the treaty.

Prior to this time Parrish had interpreted an address made by Saccaressa, chief of the Tuscaroras, to the acting Secretary of War; in which, speaking for the remnant of his people, the Tuscarora statesman (such he truly was) begged that the Tuscarora claim to lands on the Roanoke in North Carolina might be recognized, that they might be sold and the proceeds applied to the purchase of a tract in the neighborhood of their present residence near Lewiston.\* A less important but characteristic service rendered to his Indian friends by Jasper Parrish is indicated by the following, copied verbatim from the original:†

CANANDAIGUA, June 16th, 1803.

SIR,

The Bearer one of the cattaraugus Chiefs, is wishing to receive a map of their reservation, agreeable to a promise from Joseph Ellicott Esqr, as he says, they was to have a map of their reservation given to them.

I am sir, your friend and humble servant

JASPER PARRISH.

BENJAMIN ELlicOTT Esqr.

The letter is worth noting chiefly because it illustrates the attitude of helpfulness and friendliness which Jasper Parrish maintained towards the Indians throughout his life.

By a treaty entered into at Buffalo, September 12, 1815, the Senecas sold to the State all the islands in the Niagara River, within the jurisdiction of the United States, reserving to themselves hunting and fishing privileges. For these islands the treaty stipulated that the Senecas should receive \$1000 down, and an annuity of \$500 in perpetuity. The name of Red Jacket is the first appended to this agreement. Among others in the long list of Senecas and whites are those of Pollard, Little Billy and Young King, Captain Shongo, Horatio Jones's old friend Sharp Shins, Governor Daniel D. Tompkins, Gen. Peter B. Porter, Horatio Jones and Jasper Parrish. For fourteen years the Indians went to Canandaigua every June for their money; this proving expensive and troublesome an agreement was entered into by which they received their money annually in a draft payable at Buffalo. This agreement is called the Albany treaty of March 6, 1830.

Jasper Parrish attended a council of the Six Nations chiefs at Buffalo, in December, 1823, regarding their purchase of lands from the Menomonees at Green Bay, Wis. The Indians decided to send a delegation the next spring to examine the country. Jasper Parrish

\* War Dept. Records, February 11, 1801.

† Among the Holland Land Co.'s papers, in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society.



conducted their correspondence in the matter; his letters to the Hon. John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, are preserved in that department.

Jasper Parrish married in early life a daughter of General Edward Paine of Aurora, N. Y., who in the early period of the settlement of Ohio, located and gave name to the village of Painesville. He died at Canandaigua, July 12, 1836, aged 69 years and 4 months. He left a family of six children, three sons and three daughters. The eldest of the daughters married Ebenezer S. Cobb, who was lost on the steamboat Erie, which burned near Dunkirk in 1841. The second daughter married William W. Gorham of Canandaigua, son of Nathaniel Gorham.\*

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\* Stephen Parrish narrative in Orlando Allen's MS.





PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF

CAPTAINS JONES AND PARRISH,

AND OF THE PAYMENT OF INDIAN ANNUITIES  
IN BUFFALO.

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By HON. ORLANDO ALLEN.\*

I design to give a short account of the manner of paying annuities to the Iroquois or Six Nations Indians residing in New York, as I saw it nearly fifty years ago and for the twelve or fourteen succeeding years. . . .

These annuities were in money, dry goods, agricultural implements, such as plows, chairs, axes, hoes, etc., a certain amount of blacksmithing and gunsmith work, together with sustenance, to a limited amount, usually consisting of pork and flour dealt out to them while assembled for the transaction of their annual business with the United States.

The money annuity to the Seneca Nation was interest on certain trust funds held for them by the United States arising from the sale of lands; also from the State of New York for the cession to it of the islands in Niagara River, known as the "Grand Island annuity"; and to the Cayugas, Onondagas, and Oneidas for the cession to the State of certain lands by those nations respectively.

The annuities in dry goods, implements, smithwork and provisions, were from the United States to the Six Nations

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\* Extract from a paper read before the Buffalo Historical Society about 1868, Hon. Millard Fillmore presiding. Now first published.



in accordance with certain treaty stipulation made with them in April, 1792, and in September, 1794. The dry goods consisted of broadcloths of different colors, what was known in those days as Mackinaw Indian blankets, calicoes, and green worsted yarn for making belts, white beads, thread, needles, ribbons, etc.

Blacksmiths and gunsmiths residing near the bands of Indians were to be served by them when designated by the agent. Their accounts properly verified by the chief of their bands, were rendered and paid by the agents at the time of paying the general annuities to the Indians, and these were due on the first day of June in each year. . . .

At that period Captain Jasper Parrish of Canandaigua was the Government agent, title sub-agent of the New York Indians, and Captain Horatio Jones of Leicester, Livingston County, was the interpreter. A part of the duties of these Government agents was to pay the annuities to the Indians, see they were properly distributed among the several bands, settle with the mechanics employed to repair their implements of husbandry, guns, etc., be the mediums of communication with the General and State governments, together with a general supervision of their business and interests particularly as between them as nations and the surrounding whites.

The United States also paid to some of the prominent chiefs, such as Cornplanter, Young King, Little Billy, Destroy Town, Pollard, Strong, Governor Blacksnake and several others, considerable sums of money in the form of annuities. The State of New York also paid one individual annuity, and but one so far as I know, and that was an annuity of fifty dollars to the celebrated Cayuga chief, Fish Carrier, running to him and his heirs forever.\* These an-

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NOTE BY MR. ALLEN.—Soon after the sale of their lands Fish Carrier, with a considerable number of his people, the Cayugas, emigrated to Canada and settled on Grand River, near the Mohawks. The annuity was regularly paid to him during his life and afterwards to his son, who assumed the name, until about 1840, when the latter, becoming alarmed at the report of war between the United States and Great Britain, applied to me, I having been lieutenant for several years, to procure the payment of the principal of his annuity which the State was ready to do. This I obtained; he came to Buffalo, received his money, returned to Canada, and died a few years later.



nuities were paid by the agents at the time of paying the national annuities.

Parrish and Jones had been captains among the Indians for several years during the Revolution. The former among the Mohawks, the latter among the Senecas, and of course were familiar with the language of their respective captors, and in this respect as in all others in fact, were eminently qualified to act in their several official capacities.

It is said that Captain Parrish spoke five of the Iroquois languages fluently. I have no personal knowledge as to the truth of this claim; whenever I heard him address the Indians it was always in the Mohawk tongue. Captain Jones was considered an excellent interpreter of the Seneca language. He spoke it like a native, and for an uneducated man had a remarkable command of the English language. His selection of words to express his ideas was happy and his descriptions of scenes graphic.

Parrish and Jones were both large, portly men, with gray hair and florid complexions, and as they moved about our streets would attract notice by their dignified carriage and gentlemanly bearing.

When here in Buffalo they usually stopped at the Phoenix Coffee House, kept by Ralph Pomeroy, on the northeast corner of Main and Seneca streets, now the site of Brown's buildings. Sometimes Parrish stopped at the Mansion House, kept by Joseph Landon, on the south side of Crow, now Exchange Street, midway between Main and Washington streets.

At the appointed time in the early part of June Parrish and Jones would arrive in the stage from the East, and the Indians would gather from all quarters. Those living at Oneida and Onondaga were usually represented by a delegation of their chiefs and head men; and those living nearer often coming in great numbers, chiefs, warriors, women and children, so that in the course of a day or two there would be a large assemblage besides those belonging to the Buffalo Creek Reservation.

The councils on these occasions were held at a council house belonging to the Senecas, situated a few rods east of



the bend in the road a little north of the red bridge across Buffalo Creek, on the now so-called Aurora plank road, then little more than an Indian trail; and here the money was divided per capita, and the dry goods and implements apportioned. The chiefs and head men had the numbers of their tribes represented by a corresponding number of notches on a stick. These were all to be examined carefully, to see that their aggregate did not exceed the known aggregate of the entire population so that there should be none left without his or her free proportion, especially of the annuity money.

The chiefs and head men represented the tribes, the mothers the families. So the former was given the proportion belonging to their tribes, which by them was divided between the families, the mothers receiving for themselves and their children, husbands, and adults without family for themselves. By the observance of these rules, rarely if ever, did mistakes occur. The dry goods and implements were divided more according to the necessities of families, regard being had to the more destitute and needy. To the mothers who were here upon the ground would be divided their proportions, as also to individuals without families, those residing at a distance received theirs from the hands of their representatives, on return of the latter to their homes.

Merchants doing business in the neighborhood of the several bands of Indians, were much in the habit of trusting them, principally for dry goods, depending mainly upon these annuities for payment. Some of the mothers of families would be entitled to receive fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty dollars, as it might be, depending, of course, upon the number of their children. This would be known to the merchant and he would regulate the amount of his credits by the probable amount to be received by the mother of the family, but she, sharp woman, would not infrequently trade out the amount of her proportion of the coming annuity with different merchants, each believing himself to be the sole creditor.

These merchants or their clerks were always upon the ground when the annuities were paid, sometimes in waiting





day after day. At length when the money was divided it would be discovered by them that there were more than one, and sometimes several claimants for the entire amount of the annuity money of a family. Then there would be lively times among them and probably not one of them would get a dime. There was no way of enforcing payment of claims against Indians, as they were not amenable to the laws, and unless they were honest and well disposed their debts remained unpaid. Some of the Indians and squaws were honest and paid their just debts, but many of them were far otherwise.

The councilings, annotations, overhauling of accounts, auditing claims, and other preparations for the final distribution of the annuities, would occupy many days. Indians are proverbially slow in all their deliberations, much talk and more smoking, before any definite conclusions are arrived at. During these days the young men would spend some of their time in their favorite game of ball, sometimes nation against nation, bets running high and one side or the other, both men and women, getting stripped of all their finery, their bets consisting of articles of clothing or silver trinkets. Often, however, their games were for mere sport.\* . . .

The great sport of the occasion was a foot race, gotten up for the close of the proceedings as a winding up. The merchants in town would make up a purse, consisting of various articles of dry goods, such as coat patterns, blankets, shawls, calico, etc., having as many prizes as contestants, each differing in value, say from one to five dollars, distance to be run twelve miles, i. e., from where the liberty pole stands on Main Street, up Main Street one mile, up and down six times. Into this race would enter all who felt disposed and competent to contend, and these would generally consist of from fifteen to twenty-five of the best runners of the Six Nations. The runners were divested of all clothing except a shirt and breech-cloth and a belt around the loins. If wearing long hair a band around the head confined it closely, this band

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\* Mr. Allen here described the game of lacrosse.



not unfrequently consisting of some gay-colored handkerchief or ribbon.

To the best of my recollection the time consumed in running the twelve miles was about one hour; but I cannot state accurately. They would generally run in groups of three or four, strung along over a distance of one to two miles, the foremost ones being that distance ahead of the hindermost ones, towards the close of the race.

There were some six or eight runners that for several years came out very near together, seeming to be closely matched, both as to speed and bottom. There was, however, an Onondaga by the name of Sam George, who took the first prize for several years in succession. He is now an old man, head chief of the Onondaga Nation, and calls himself Colonel Sam George. He then lived on the Buffalo Creek Reservation, but for many years past has lived with his people at Onondaga.

The second in the race usually was a Seneca from Allegheny, named John Titus. He was a much smaller man than George, who was not obliged to put forth all of his powers to distance his competitors, and this seemed to be well understood.

On one occasion Titus achieved by strategy, what he could not by speed, and that was by keeping close up to George until within a few steps of the goal, and then just before crossing the line, putting forth all of his powers, slipped by, leaving George no time to recover the lost race, as he probably could have done in ten strides. George was exceedingly mortified at the result and was careful not to be thus outwitted again. I think he was on no other occasion beaten in these races.

During the time the Indians remained here the store of Hart & Lay, afterwards Hart & Cunningham, and then Hart & Hickox, was the headquarters of the agent and interpreter, and there a considerable part of their business was transacted. This naturally brought the Indians there in large numbers. The ground between Swan and North Division streets on the east side of Main Street was then entirely vacant, with here and there a large oak tree still stand-



ing. On this ground the Indians were almost always to be seen in considerable numbers during their stay here. Capt. Jones spent much of his time at this store, being very sociable and fond of chatting with his Indian friends, talking of the scenes of their boyhood days.

The store in which I was employed was next door below Hart & Cunningham's and at such times, particularly nights, I would sit and listen to their conversation, and if any portion was not distinctly understood by the listeners as expressed in the original, Capt. Jones would explain in English.

On one of these occasions there was a very aged Indian present, and taking part in the conversation, whom Captain Jones informed us was in some way connected with his capture, but precisely how I cannot now state, though I recollect distinctly his connecting him with that event. One of these stories was the brief account that Capt. Jones gave of his capture and some of the incidents connected with his residence among the Indians. This was on a summer night, whites and Indians indiscriminately mixed, sitting around on chairs, stools, floor and counters. I made notes of these some years ago with the aid of which and a pretty retentive memory, I give the story as I heard it.\* . . .

Unlike Captain Jones, who spent much of his time while here in Buffalo during these annuity-paying visits, conversing with the Indians, and who seemed never happier than when so engaged, Captain Parrish did not appear to hold much, if any, communication with them, apart from the business connected with his agency; therefore, there was no opportunity afforded of gaining any information from him concerning his captivity. I have been told by one of his sons, the late Edward Parrish of Canandaigua, that when at home he would spend hours at a time in conversation with the Indians who called to see him, as they did very often, socially and on business. I have been told also that his Indian mother, who resided in Canada after the Revolutionary

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\* The story that Orlando Allen thus preserved has been utilized in the life of Horatio Jones by George H. Harris. A copy of Mr. Allen's original version is preserved by the Buffalo Historical Society.



War, sometimes visited him at his home in Canandaigua, and seemed to look upon him with as much pride and affection as though he had been of her own blood. When she became too old to visit him, he occasionally visited her at her home.





APPENDIX A.

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS A

BIBLIOGRAPHY

OF

THE NIAGARA REGION.

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PAMPHLETS AND  
BOOKS PRINTED IN BUFFALO  
PRIOR TO 1850.

Being an Appendix to Volume Six, Buffalo  
Historical Society Publications.

BUFFALO, N. Y.

1903



## INTRODUCTION.

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The following list is submitted in continuation of the project entered upon in Vol. V. of the Buffalo Historical Society *Publications*, namely, to publish a bibliography of the Niagara Region, including Buffalo. The list printed in 1902 was on the Upper Canadian Rebellion of 1837-38. The compiler is now enabled to add to that list only the following titles:

[HEAD (*Sir*) FRANCIS BOND.] Three Letters to Lord Brougham, on the execution in Upper Canada of the traitors Lount and Matthews. By a British subject. . . London. J. Murray [1838]. 8vo. pp. 18.

These letters first appeared in the London (Eng.) *Times* June 6, 13 and 28, 1838.

LEAVITT, THAD. W. H. History of Leeds and Grenville, Ontario, from 1749 to 1879. . . . Toronto: Historical Publishing Co. 1879. 4to., ill., pp. 208.

Treats at length of the Upper Canadian Rebellion on the St Lawrence.

MACKENZIE, WILLIAM LYON. An Almanack of Independence and Freedom for the Year 1860, containing a plea for relief of Canada from a state of Colonial Vassalage, or irresponsible rule. . . . Toronto, 1860. 8vo. pp. 61.

Indirectly related to our subject, but perhaps should be included.

Mackenzie, William Lyon. A Rebellion Reminiscence. How Wm. Lyon Mackenzie escaped.

*Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*, Vol. viii., No. 3. Montreal, Jan., 1879.

[McLeod, Alexander.] Review of the opinion of Judge Cowan, of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, in the case of Alexander McLeod. By a citizen of New York. Washington: Printed by Thomas Allen. 1841. 8vo. pp. 28.

Dedicated to Daniel Webster.

[Sutherland, (*Gen.*) Th. J.] The Trial of General Th. J. Sutherland, late of the Patriot Army, before a court martial convened at Toronto on the 13th day of March, A. D. 1838. By order of Sir Francis Bond Head, Lieutenant Governor of said Province, K. C. B., &c., &c. On a charge of having, as a citizen of the United States, levied war in the Province of Upper Canada against Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, &c. With his defence and other documents. Buffalo: Press of Oliver G. Steele. 1838. 8vo. pp. 87.



The list of 1902 was a subject-list, and such no doubt will be those to follow, except that herewith presented. For it, the chronological arrangement has seemed the natural one in view of the object aimed at, which is, to make a record of books and pamphlets published or printed in Buffalo during the earlier years of its existence. The following list stops with and includes the year 1849; a seemingly arbitrary date, but for the selection of which there were numerous reasons. Not only is the middle of a century a natural halting-place; but from about 1850 the use of the steam press, the development of the municipal government and of corporate or other societies, and the general growth of the city resulted in a rapid increase of annual reports of organizations and other publications of a periodic type, while the development of public libraries made their collection and preservation fairly certain. Probably much that was printed in the pioneer years of the local press has been lost. The following list has been compiled from books preserved in the Buffalo, Grosvenor and Historical Society libraries, with a few items from private sources. Many of them are contained in the Millard Fillmore and Dr. John C. Lord collections, both now in the keeping of the Historical Society. But for the scholarly tastes and habit of preserving books and pamphlets which characterized these two eminent Buffalonians, many an entry in the following list would undoubtedly have been lost. It is the first list of this class of Buffalo publications that has been made; the compiler will be pleased to learn of any additions to it which his readers may be able to make.

Newspapers and periodicals are not included, with the exception of the *Mental Elevator*, the unique paper issued from the Seneca Mission Press, which is recorded under 1841, the year of its first issue. There is little need to review the history of the early periodic press of Buffalo, that work having already been well done; notably in the "Early History of the Press of Erie County," by Guy H. Salisbury, printed in Volume II., *Publications* of the Buffalo Historical Society. The inquirer on this subject may also consult George J. Bryan's "Biographies. . . . also, Lecture on Journalism" (Buffalo, 1886), the lecture on journalism having been prepared for the Buffalo Historical Society in 1876; "The Authors of Buffalo," by Frank H. Severance, Buffalo Historical Society *Publications*, Vol. IV.; and the chapters on the press of Erie and Niagara counties in the various local histories.

Incidentally, the following list contains data for a chronology of the principal printers of Buffalo from the pioneer Salisburys (S. H. and H. A.), who set up the first press here in 1811, down to



Faxon & Stevens, Andrew F. Lee, T. J. Dudley, Jas. S. Leavitt, G. Reese & Co., A. M. Clapp & Co., F. W. Breed, Parmelee & Hadley, and—most notable of all—Jewett, Thomas & Co. All of these firms were printers and on occasion publishers, in the late '40's; and the last-mentioned house, with its much-vaunted "steam power press," may perhaps stand as typifying the more modern era of printing in Buffalo, into which the present survey does not carry us.

The Salisburys, with numerous business changes, continued prominent in the printing business of Buffalo well into the '40's. Buffalo's first book was published in 1812 by S. H. & H. A. Salisbury. No other book or pamphlet is known to the present compiler, bearing a Buffalo imprint, until we come to 1818, when we find the imprint of Carpenter & Salisbury. Again nothing is found until 1820, when the imprint is that of H. A. Salisbury. In 1821 David M. Day (father of the late David F. Day) and H. A. Salisbury are associated, but for some years thereafter each continues in the printing business, by himself. Smith H. Salisbury early pinned his faith to Black Rock, and in 1827 we find a pamphlet published there by him. Lewis G. Hoffman (1822) and D. P. Adams (1836), are the only other Black Rock publishers shown by our list. Mr. Adams was the father of Mr. William H. Adams, now a well-known resident of Buffalo. Smith H. Salisbury returned to Buffalo, and in the '30's both he and H. A. Salisbury were continuing the family craft in Buffalo. Later on we find the firms of Salisbury, Manchester & Co., and Salisbury & Clapp.

In the decade of the '20's, besides those named, the publishing business was ambitiously carried on in Buffalo by Lazell & Francis, and R. W. Haskins & Co., this firm later changing to Day, Follett & Haskins. In 1832, the year of Buffalo's municipal birth, we first find the imprint of Steele & Faxon. From that date down to the close of our review no names are more prominent in the local publishing business than those of Charles Faxon and Oliver G. Steele. Many new names appear in the '30's; they are recorded in the following list and need not be restated here. Buffalo's pioneer German printer, George Zahm, printed pamphlets in English as early as 1840, but nothing has been found printed here in German, newspapers excepted, prior to 1843. Oliver G. Steele printed one book in Dutch for a teacher of languages, in 1848.

It is not the purpose of these notes to present a history of the publishing business in Buffalo, even during the earlier years, but merely to direct attention to the representative names in the following list, many of them designating men honorably prominent in





the community during the years when Buffalo's industrial foundations were being laid.

In the early decades of the last century many books, well printed and bound, came from presses in small towns where now book-publishing has practically ceased. This is especially true of school-books. Before the days of the publishers' trusts, concentration of capital, and monopoly in educational text-books, school-books were manufactured practically where needed. Often they were printed in New York, with title-page imprints for many localities and dealers. For example, Cobb's series of *Juvenile Readers* were published, in the '30's and '40's, at Rochester, N. Y., Pulaski, N. Y., Erie, Pa., Cleveland, O., etc. The imprint of O. Spofford, Erie, Pa., appears on many books of this class, as early as 1841, but they were either printed, or the stereotype plates made, in New York. Similarly, Peter Parley's *Arithmetic*, "Buffalo, Oliver G. Steele, 1833," is really a Boston publication, with a special title for the Buffalo trade; Coppock's "*Pianist's Companion*," published by J. D. Sheppard, Buffalo, N. Y., Steele's Press, 1835, is really a New York made book. David Hoyt in Rochester put out many books of the same character. More genuinely local were such books as those printed in Utica by Grosh & Walker, and published by O. Hutchinson. The "*Treatise on Algebra*," by George R. Perkins—the famous compiler of almanacs—published by Hutchinson in 1842 is an excellent example of the good work done by country presses in this State more than sixty years ago. In Western New York, Canandaigua, Batavia, Lockport, Warsaw, even in such ultra-rural communities as Boston in Erie County, prior to 1840, were the homes of well-trained printers, who could and did, manufacture very substantial volumes of various degrees of typographical pretension and literary worth. No doubt they took their time to it; but the result in many cases is better than could be expected from the presses in those towns today. The causes of this decadence of the village press are too well known to need recital. The growth of the large cities and the expansion of the field of circulation for their newspapers; the extension of railway connections and the development of express and postal facilities so that well-nigh every hamlet in the State may have the New York City papers, even if only an unsatisfactory early edition, on the day of issue; the evolution of news-service, through the various stages of the "patent inside" sheet, which came to the country editor ready printed on one side, leaving him only to print his local items and advertisements on the other side; and of the more modern plate service; have all conspired to bring about the decline of the country press and to rob the work of the



country editor of its individuality. The hopelessness of competing with well-equipped city offices on work which is there done by improved machinery, displacing the ancient spectacled artist of the stick and rule; to say nothing of the thousand and one other forces which operate against the economical prosecution of the craft remote from centers of supply and distribution, have made the old-time master-printer of the country office well nigh extinct, and have driven the ambitious country editor into the city where he sinks his individuality in anonymous toil in "journalism." Rarely now does a country printing office attempt anything more ambitious than the most commonplace poster and pamphlet. Here and there, it is true, in small towns exist establishments which assume to prosecute the art preservative with the mannerisms if not the sincerity and simplicity of its discoverers; but their product is chiefly designed for the delectation of the dilettante in typographic esthetics, real or pretended, and sustains no real relation to the community where produced.

Perhaps the most striking instance in our immediate lower-lake region of the ambitious but good work of the early rural press is afforded by Niagara, Ont.—now popularly known as Niagara-on-the-Lake—where "The Life and Actions of Alexander the Great," 8vo. 200 pages, by the Rev. J. Williams; "The Life of Mahomed," 8vo. 112 pages, by the Rev. Geo. Bush; Southey's "Life of Lord Nelson," 1st Canada edition, 8vo. 140 pages; and "The Life of Lord Byron," 8vo. 200 pages, by John Galt, were all published in 1831. Even as early as 1819, at Niagara, U. C., Andrew Heron had printed "Magna Charta" and "The Bill of Rights," in a neat pamphlet, "with elucidatory notes," by B. Curwen, Esq. These were reprints, but in 1832 this Niagara corner of the then Canadian wilderness became a true publishing center by the original issuance of Thompson's "History of the Late War between Great Britain and the United States of America," a duodecimo of 300 pages. But for that war bookmaking in Buffalo would no doubt have had an earlier and worthier development. M. Smith states in the preface of his "Geographical View of the British Possessions in North America," New York, 1813, that he had arranged to have the work published in Buffalo, but the war upset his plans. In 1812, residing in Canada, he had obtained permission from Lt. Gov. Gore to publish; but when war was declared, Smith, being a citizen of the Republic, refused to take the oath of allegiance to Great Britain. He obtained passports, but his manuscripts were taken away from him before he left Canada, and he had afterward to rely on his rough notes.

Perhaps the most important feature of the following list is the record of imprints of the Seneca Mission press, noted under the



years 1841 to 1846. Several other publications, excluded from the list because not printed in Buffalo, but of interest in this connection to the bibliographer and student of Seneca linguistics, should be noted. Some of them are mentioned in Mr. Howland's history of the Seneca Mission. (*Ante*, pp. 158-160.) As matter of record we give the following, necessarily omitting numerous accents:

Christ's Sermon on the Mountain. Translated into the Seneca Tongue, by T. S. Harris and J. Young. New York. Printed for the American Tract Society. By D. Fanshaw. 1829. 16mo. pp. 32 [16 duplicate numbering], 74. At p. 1 the following sub-title: "Gainoh ne nenodowohga neuwahnudah. By James Young. New York. Printed for the American Tract Society by D. Fanshaw. 1829."

Dinhsa'wahgwah gaya'doshah go'waha's goya'doh. Sgaoyadih do-wanandenyo. Neh Nadigehjihshohoh dodisdoagoh; Wasto'k tadinageh. 1836. 12mo. pp. 42.

Translation: "Beginning book, Mrs. Wright she wrote, Mr. Jimerson he translated, the old men they printed, Boston [Mass.] they reside at." A spelling-book.

The First Book for Indians Schools. Printed at the Mission Press, Cattaraugus Reservation, 1847. 16mo. pp. 72.

Easy word lessons, "The child's hymn about Jesus," etc.

Gaa nah shoh neh de o waah' sao' nyoh gwah Na' wen ni yuh. Ho nont gah deh ho di' yado'nyoh. New York: American Tract Society. 1852. 12mo. pp. 232.

The third edition of the Seneca hymn-book. There is more separation of syllables than in most of the earlier imprints.

Neh noya' nes ha'wahdenyoh Oi'wah geh odeh oh Nisah' 28, 1854. n. p. 12mo. pp. 24.

"Laws of the Seneca Nation, passed January 28, 1854." Printed by order of the Seneca Government, and translated by Nicholson H. Parker. Originally drawn up in English by a committee appointed for that purpose by the Council. There are also numerous tracts composed by N. H. Parker, printed in 1854.

He ni ya wah syoh no'nah jih, tga wa na gwa oh neh ne ga yados hiyu neh. 12mo. pp. 64. H. M. Morgan, printer, Gowanda, N. Y.

The American Bible Society in 1874 published the four Gospels in the Seneca (Asher Wright's translation), an edition still much used on the Reservations; but our review is designed only to cover Western New York and other related imprints of the early years.

The enumeration of some of the annuals or periodic pamphlets in the following list is known to be incomplete. Probably also some editions of the early Niagara Falls guide-books are not noted; the most complete collection of this kind of Niagara literature, that of the Hon. Peter A. Porter, being boxed up and in storage when the list was compiled and thus inaccessible alike to owner and compiler. It is believed, however, that no works are omitted, though certain editions of some of them may be.

F. H. S.



PAMPHLETS AND  
BOOKS PRINTED IN BUFFALO  
PRIOR TO 1850.

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1812.

GRANGER, ERASTUS, and RED JACKET. Public speeches, delivered at the Village of Buffalo, on the 6th and 8th days of July, 1812, by Hon. Erastus Granger, Indian Agent, and Red Jacket, one of the principal chiefs and speakers of the Seneca Nation, respecting the part the Six Nations would take in the present war against Great Britain. Buffalo: Printed and sold by S. H. & H. A. Salisbury—sold also at the Canandaigua and Geneva Bookstores. 1812. 16mo. pp. 31.

The first book printed in Buffalo, and the only book or pamphlet known to the present compiler with a Buffalo imprint of earlier date than 1818. It is reproduced entire, in facsimile, in Vol. IV., *Buffalo Historical Society Publications*. That society owns one of the two known copies.

Fac-simile of title-page on p. 557.

1818.

Claws and the Clauses. . . . Buffalo, 1818.

Known only through a sale-catalogue entry, as above.

[THACHER (*Rev.*) SAMUEL COOPER.] The Unity of God: a Sermon, delivered in America, September, 1815. Third American edition. Buffalo: Printed by Carpenter & Salisbury. 1818. 16mo. pp. 24.

By Rev. Samuel Cooper Thacher of Boston. The first edition was printed in Boston, 1817; the preface to the second edition, (reprinted in the 3d) is dated Worcester, Mass., May, 1817. Why it was reprinted in Buffalo is not apparent.

1820.

Report in the Senate, of the Committee appointed to enquire and make report relative to the accounts of Daniel D. Tompkins with this State. March 9, 1820. Buffalo: Printed by H. A. Salisbury. 1820. 8vo. pp. 24.





Memorial. [Without title-page: a petition to the New York Legislature, signed by residents of the County of Niagara, asking that the terminus of the Erie Canal be fixed at the mouth of Buffalo Creek. Dated at end:] Niagara County, December, 1820. 8vo. pp. 8.

Presumably printed in Buffalo, which is referred to as "this place." The memorialists, whose names are not printed, review the legislative action regarding the canal to date, and make a strong argument in favor of building the canal to Buffalo, and not stopping it, as they feared might be done, at Tonawanda.

### 1821.

MOULTON, JOSEPH W. An Address delivered at St. Paul's Church, Buffalo, on the anniversary celebration of the Niagara and Erie Society for promoting Agriculture and Domestic Manufactures, the 30th day of October, 1821. By Joseph W. Moulton, Esq., corresponding secretary. Buffalo: Printed by D. M. Day, and H. A. Salisbury, 1821. 8vo. pp. 36.

### 1822.

PATCHING, TALLCUT. A Religious Convincement and Plea, for the Baptism and Communion of the Spirit, and that which is of Material Bread, Wine and Water rejected as Jewish Rites; both unprofitable, and the cause of great division among Christians. Also, some remarks on the abuse, use and misapplication of the Scriptures; and the Ecclesiastical Succession refuted; whereby the rite to ordain by the laying on of hands is lost; besides not necessary to qualify a Gospel Minister. By Tallcut Patching. [*Quot. 71.*] Buffalo: Printed for the author, by H. A. Salisbury, 1822. 12mo. pp. ix-457.

Advertisement at end: "A copy of this book may be had, by applying to the author, in Boston, Erie County, N. Y. Communications by letter must be postpaid. Applicants shall be supplied as soon as possible. Remittance will be expected when the book is delivered.—Price \$1."

[PORTER, (*Gen.*) PETER B.] Documents, relating to the Western Termination of the Erie Canal; with Explanations and Remarks. Published by direction of "the Black Rock Harbor Company." Black Rock: Printed by Lewis G. Hoffman. 1822. 8vo. pp. 60.

Fac-simile of title-page on p. 559.

### 1823.

Documents and brief remarks, in reply to the pamphlet written by General Porter, and published by direction of the Black Rock Harbor Company, at Albany, in December, 1822, and at Buffalo in January, 1823. By the Buffalo Harbor Committee. Buffalo: Printed by David M. Day. 1823. 8vo. pp. 47.

Fac-simile of title-page on p. 561.



PUBLIC  
SPEECHES,

DELIVERED

*At the Village of Buffalo, on the 6th and 8th days  
of July, 1812,*

BY

Hon. ERASTUS GRANGER,

INDIAN AGENT,

AND

RED JACKET,

One of the Principal CHIEFS and SPEAKERS  
of the SENACA NATION,

RESPECTING THE PART THE SIX NATIONS WOULD  
TAKE IN THE PRESENT

War

AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN.



BUFFALO :

Printed and sold by S H & H A. SALISBURY  
—sold also at the Canandaigua and Geneva  
Bookstores.



1812.



HARRIS, (*Rev.*) T. S. and YOUNG, J. O en ad o geh tech' soah Koy a noli' soah, na na Nonoandowoh'gan Neuenooh'dea. Hymns, in the Seneca Language. By T. S. Harris and J. Young. Buffalo: Printed by David M. Day. 1823. 16mo. pp. 32.

Seneca and English on alternate pages. The representation of Seneca sounds by English syllables is only approximate, and not so true to the spoken speech as in the books printed by the Rev. Asher Wright, whose study of the language was much more thorough and scientific than that made by Messrs. Harris and Young.

Fac-simile of title-page on p. 563.

TODD, LEWIS C. Compendium of Universalism, or the Articles of Union, Faith and Practice, of the Universalian Church in Chautauque, explained and confirmed with notes. By Lewis C. Todd. [*Texts, 5 lines.*] Buffalo: Printed by H. A. Salisbury. 1823. 12mo. pp. 71.

Fac-simile of title-page on p. 565.

## 1824.

The Apocryphal New Testament, being all the Gospels, Epistles, and other pieces now extant, attributed in the first four centuries to Jesus Christ, His Apostles and their Companions, and not included in the New Testament, by its compilers. Translated from the Original Tongues and now first collected into one volume. From the London Edition. Buffalo: Printed by H. A. Salisbury. 1824. 12mo. pp. xi-346.

Astronomical Calendar, or Western Almanac, for the Year of Our Lord 1824: . . . Calculated for the Meridian and Horizon of Buffalo. . . . Astronomical calculations by Loud & Wilmarth. . . . Buffalo: Published by Oliver Spofford. . . . H. A. Salisbury, printer. [1824.] 12mo. pp. 36.

In this year was also published at Lewiston, where it was "printed and sold, wholesale and retail, by Oliver Grace": "The Niagara Almanac for 1824: (No. 1.) The Astronomical calculations are made for the Horizon of Niagara Falls. . . . By Edward Giddins." 12mo. pp. 36. At the *Sentinel* office in Lewiston in this year was published "A faithful and correct report of Several Trials, held at Lockport, before the Honourable William B. Rochester, Circuit Judge for the Eighth District, State of New York, for the alleged murder of John Jennings, in the memorable riot of Christmas Eve, 1822, from stenographic notes, by Francis Collins." 8vo. pp. 52; the fullest history, no doubt, of the most famous murder trials in Western New York prior to that of the three Thayers.

Holland Purchase. Minutes of the Holland Purchase Association, convened in Sheldon, upon 6th and 7th October, 1824, together with their circular and corresponding letter; and the revised constitution of the Baptist Domestic Missionary and Indian



# DOCUMENTS,

RELATING TO THE

Western Termination

OF THE

ERIE CANAL:

WITH

Explanations and Remarks

PUBLISHED BY DIRECTION OF "THE  
BLACK ROCK HARBOR  
COMPANY."

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*BLACK ROCK.*

PRINTED BY LEWIS G. HOFFMAN.

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1822.





School Society, in the Holland Purchase Association. Buffalo, N. Y. Printed by Lazell and Francis. 1824. 8vo. pp. 16.

The address of Lazell & Francis is given on the last page as "No. 5 Cheapside," Buffalo, at which place they published the *Buffalo Emporium*, "designed to be the repository of various knowledge—Political—Agricultural—Moral and Religious—together with the earliest intelligence, Foreign and Domestic." The *Emporium* was printed weekly at \$2 per year.

## 1825.

[BALL, S.] Buffalo in 1825: containing historical and statistical sketches, illustrated with a map of the village and view of the harbor. Buffalo: Published by S. Ball. H. A. Salisbury, printer. 1825. 8vo. pp. 13. [1]; full page copper-plate: "View of Buffalo harbor," and folding map, "Ball's plan of the Village of Buffalo. Compiled, surveyed, drawn and engraved by and for the author, 1825."

The first "history" of Buffalo, issued in dark blue paper covers. One of the most-to-be-prized Buffalo books.

Fac-simile of title-page on p. 567.

[Columbian Spelling-Book. . . . Buffalo. 1825.]

No copy seen. Lazell & Francis advertised it in this year: "Now in Press an edition of the Columbian Spelling-Book . . . arranged after the pronunciation of Walker and is calculated to supercede the use of Webster's. Parents, guardians and instructors of youth, are respectfully invited to call and examine the work."

[Daboll's Arithmetic. . . . Buffalo. 1825.]

No copy seen. Lazell & Francis in an advertisement of this year, announce that they have just completed the work.

PICKERING, DAVID. A Discourse, delivered at the Universalist Church, in the City of Hudson, N. Y. December 27, 1823. By David Pickering. Published by request. From the second Hudson edition. Buffalo. Printed by H. A. Salisbury. 1825. 8vo. pp. 55.

[Three Thayers.] An Interesting Narrative of the Murder of John Love, comprising an account of the detection, and trial, of the murderers, (three brothers,) hanged at Buffalo, June 17, 1825. Buffalo: Printed and published by Lazell and Francis. 1825. 16mo. pp. 16.

Grotesque cut of gallows with three bodies, three coffins underneath.

[Three Thayers.] Trial of Isaac, Israel, Jr., and Nelson Thayer, for the murder of John Love, before the Court of Oyer and Terminer, held at Buffalo, N. Y., on the 21st, 22d and 23d of April, 1825; with their Sentence and Confession. Reported by a member of the Bar. Printed, published, and sold by, Lazell & Francis, No. 5 Cheapside, Buffalo,—at \$5 a hundred, 75 cts. a



# DOCUMENTS

AND

## BRIEF REMARKS,

### IN REPLY

TO THE

Pamphlet written by General Porter,

AND PUBLISHED

BY DIRECTION OF THE BLACK ROCK HARBOR COMPANY,

AT ALBANY IN DEC. 1822, AND AT BUFFALO IN JAN. 1823.

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BY THE BUFFALO HARBOR COMMITTEE

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BUFFALO—PRINTED BY DAVID M. DAY.

1823.

FAC-SIMILE OF THE FAMOUS BUFFALO HARBOR PAMPHLET, 1823.



dozen, and 12 1-2 cents single. [Buffalo.] 1825. 12mo. pp. 34. [2, ads].

On the last page of this pamphlet is an advertisement in part as follows: "Lazell & Francis have just completed a good edition of Daboll's Arithmetic; and they have now in press an edition of the Columbian Spelling-Book." No copy of either work has been seen by the compiler.

- [Three Thayers.] Trial of Israel Thayer, Jr., Isaac Thayer, and Nelson Thayer, for the murder of John Love, at the Court of Oyer and Terminer of Erie County, at the Court House in Buffalo, on the 21st, 22d and 23d days of April, 1825; before his Honor, Reuben H. Walworth, Circuit Judge for the Fourth Circuit. Including the testimony, arguments of counsel, with the substance of the charge to the jury, the sentence of the culprits, and their subsequent confession of the crime. Reported for the publisher, by James Sheldon, counsellor. [Copy right secured.] Buffalo: Printed and published by H. A. Salisbury. 1825. 8vo. pp. 43 [1].

Same, "second edition, enlarged," Buffalo: Published by Simeon Newbury. H. A. Salisbury, printer. 1825. 8vo. pp. 48.

- [Three Thayers.] The Life, Condemnation, Dying Address and Trial of the Three Thayers, who were executed for the murder of John Love, at Buffalo, N. Y., June 17th, 1825. Buffalo: Printed for the publisher. 1825. 8vo. pp. 15.

Another pamphlet, to be regarded as a second edition of the above, is entitled "The Life, Condemnation, Dying Address and Trial of the three Thayers. [*Crude cuts of three coffins.*] Who were executed for the murder of John Love, at Buffalo, N. Y., June 17th, 1825. Second edition. Boston: Printed by John G. Scobie, for the publisher." 8vo. pp. 16. This was Boston, Erie Co., N. Y., where several books were printed in the '20's. Still another contemporary publication on this cheerful subject was: "The Dying Address of the Three Thayers, Who were executed for the Murder of John Love, at Buffalo, N. Y., June 17th, 1825," a folio, the second page headed: "A Sketch of the Life, Condemnation, and Death of the Three Thayers, who were hanged at Buffalo, on the 17th of June, 1825, for the Murder of John Love." The first page bears a rude cut of a gallows with three suspended figures, the second page has three coffins. The narrative is the same as that contained in "The Life, Condemnation," etc., and the sheet was presumably printed either in Buffalo or the town of Boston, Erie Co.

In this year at Tuscarora village, was issued the first edition of David Cusick's "Sketches of Ancient History of the Six Nations," etc., one of the scarcest imprints of the Niagara district. Though dated at Tuscarora, it was probably printed at Lewiston.

## 1826.

- Acts of Incorporation and Ordinances, of the Village of Buffalo. Buffalo: Printed by Day & Follett. 1826. 8vo. pp. 23.



O EN AD O GEH TEEH SOAH

*KOY A NOH SOAH,*

NA NA

*Nonoandowoh'gau Neuenooh'dea.*

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HYMNS,

IN THE

SENECA LANGUAGE.

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BY T. S. HARRIS AND J. YOUNG.

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BUFFALO—PRINTED BY DAVID M. DAY.  
1823.





BUTLER, FREDERICK, A. M. A History of the United States of America, with a Geographical Appendix, and a chronological table of contents. For the use of families and schools. By Frederick Butler, A. M. Printed by Lazell & Francis, Buffalo, N. Y. 1826. 12mo. pp. 420.

The book was manufactured in Buffalo, but the title was registered in "the District of Connecticut," which fact finds explanation in the following note: "The editors offer as an apology for the long list of Errata, in this work, that the Author resides at Wethersfield, Conn.; a distance of more than 400 miles from Buffalo; which rendered it impossible for him to examine and correct the proof sheets; and the Printers were not accustomed to read his writing." There are many and strange errors in the book; but, place and date considered, it was an ambitious and creditable piece of work.

CASEY, JOHN. Letters, addressed to several philanthropic statesmen, and clergymen; vindicating Civilized and Christian Government, in contradistinction to the civilized and Anti-Christian Institutions; to which is subjoined an appendix. By John Casey, agent for promoting the establishment of Peace Societies. [*Quot.* 51.] Buffalo: Printed by Lazell & Francis. 1826. 12mo. pp. iv-144.

"This Book (agreeably to the Author's proposals) is not to be sold, but gratuitously circulated by the Publisher and his generous Subscribers, as a free-will offering among all people."  
—*Prefatory note.*

Farmer's Calendar or Western Almanac, for the Year of Our Lord 1826. . . . Calculated for the meridian of Buffalo, Erie County, New York. . . . Astronomical calculations by Oliver Loud. . . . Buffalo. Published by R. W. Haskins & Co. [1826.] 12mo. pp. 36.

Loud's calculations were the basis of various almanacs, e. g., the Western Almanac published at Rochester in 1826, 1827; in other years and elsewhere.

ROBINSON, JOHN (*D. D.*) History of England abridged, by John Robinson, D. D. Buffalo, N. Y. Published by Lazell & Francis. 1826. [Engraved title followed by title-page in type:]

Robinson, John (*D. D.*) Hume and Smollett abridged, and continued to the accession of George IV. By John Robinson, D. D. Buffalo, N. Y. Re-published by Lazell and Francis. 1826. 8vo. pp. 352.

Fac-simile of title-page on p. 571.

Rules of the Court of Common Pleas for Erie County. Adopted February Term, 1825, Buffalo: Printed by H. A. Salisbury. 1826. 8vo. pp. 16.

## 1827.

CASEY, JOHN. Universal Peace; being a rational and scriptural vindication, of the establishment of permanent and universal Peace; upon the immovable basis of Christian Principles. In



**COMPENDIUM**  
**OF**  
**UNIVERSALISM.**  
**OR THE ARTICLES OF**  
**UNION, FAITH AND PRACTICE,**  
**OF THE UNIVERSALIAN CHURCH IN**  
**CHAUTAUQUE.**  
**EXPLAINED AND CONFIRMED WITH NOTES.**

**BY LEWIS C. TODD.**

"But we desire to hear of thee what thou thinkest: for as concerning this sect, we know that every where it is spoken against."—Acts xxviii. 22.

"But this I confess unto thee, that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets."—Acts xxiv, 14.

**BUFFALO:**

**Printed by H. A. Salisbury.**

**1823.**



two volumes. Vol. I. Compiled and published, by John Casey; Author of Letters, vindicating civilized and Christian Government, etc. [*Quot. 41.*] Black Rock: Printed by Smith H. Salisbury. 1827. Vol. I, 12mo. pp. 216.

Apparently completed in one volume, by using smaller type than at first contemplated.

EDDY, (*Rev.*) A. D. A discourse, delivered at the dedication of the Brick Church, in Buffalo, N. Y., March 28, 1827. By A. D. Eddy, pastor of the First Congregational Church, in Canandaigua. Buffalo: Printed by Day, Follett & Haskins. 1827. 8vo. pp. 25.

Fac-simile of title-page on p. 573.

EVERETT, (*Rev.*) L. S. A Review, of a pamphlet, entitled, Universalism, or, the Rich Man and Lazarus; a sermon, by Thomas Lounsbury, A. B., pastor of the First Presbyterian congregation in Ovid. By L. S. Everett, pastor of the First Universalist Society in Buffalo, N. Y. In two parts. . . . Third Edition. Black Rock: Printed by S. H. Salisbury. 1827. 8vo. pp. 24.

[Holland Purchase.] Proceedings of the Meeting held at Lockport, on the 2d and 3d of January, 1827; and of the Convention of Delegates from the several counties on the Holland Purchase, held at Buffalo, on the 7th and 8th of February, 1827, to consider the relations subsisting between the Holland Company and the Settlers on said Purchase, and to propose some remedy by which the condition of the Settlers may be alleviated. Buffalo: Printed by Day & Follett. 1827. 8vo. pp. 23.

HYDE, (*Rev.*) JABEZ B. A Review of the Minutes and Proceedings of the Presbytery of Buffalo, at their special session in that village, October 16, 17 and 18, 1827; for the trial of the Rev. Jabez B. Hyde, on charges preferred against him by Rev. T. S. Harris, Missionary among the Seneca Indians. To which is added an appendix, containing documents referred to in the trial, and additional notes. [*Quot. 21.*] Buffalo: H. A. Salisbury, Printer. 1827. 8vo. pp. 73.

For note on this work see *ante*, this volume, p. 273.

## 1828.

A Directory for the Village of Buffalo, containing the names and residence of the heads of families and householders, in said village, on the first of January, 1828. To which is added a sketch of the history of the village, from 1801 to 1828. Buffalo: Published by L. P. Crary. Day, Follett & Haskins, Printers. 1828. 16mo. pp. 55 [*advs.*, 5]. Folding map of Buffalo, dated January 1, 1828.

Buffalo's first directory. The second did not appear until 1832. No Buffalo Directories were issued in the years 1829, '30, '31, '33, '34, '43, '45 or '46.

Fac-simile of title-page on p. 575.



# **BUFFALO,**

IN

## **1825:**

CONTAINING

**HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL SKETCHES,**

ILLUSTRATED

**WITH A MAP OF THE VILLAGE**

AND

**VIEW OF THE HARBOR.**

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**BUFFALO:**  
PUBLISHED BY S. BALL.  
H. A. SALISBURY, PRINTER.

1825.





## 1829.

Prospectus and internal regulations of the Western Literary and Scientific Academy, at Buffalo, N. Y. Buffalo: Printed by Day, Follett & Haskins. 1829. 8vo. pp. 21, [2].

## 1830.

[Holland Purchase.] An Address to the Landholders and Inhabitants of the Holland Purchase, on the subject of the Holland Land Company's title, and remonstrating against the proceedings of a County Convention, held at Buffalo, 11th Feb., 1830. Buffalo: Printed by Day, Follett & Haskins. 1830. 8vo. pp. 16.

[Holland Purchase.] Report of a County Convention of Delegates, from the several towns in the County of Erie, held at the Court House, in Buffalo, on the eleventh of February, Eighteen Hundred and Thirty, for the purpose of inquiring into the title of the Holland Land Company to the lands claimed by them in this State. Buffalo: Republican Press: S. H. Salisbury. 1830. 8vo. pp. 22.

## 1832.

An Act to incorporate the City of Buffalo, passed April 20, 1832. [Cut: *N. Y. coat of arms.*] Buffalo: Printed by David M. Day. 1832. 8vo. pp. 41.

[Almanac.] The Farmer's Almanack, for the Year of Our Lord 1832; . . . Adapted to the Meridian of Buffalo, Erie Co., N. Y. . . . Astronomical calculations by the successor of Oliver Loud. . . . Buffalo: R. W. Haskins. [1832.] 12mo. pp. 24.

The "Buffalo Bookstore" of R. W. Haskins at this date was at No. 204 Main Street (old numbering).

[Almanac.] Steele & Faxon's Buffalo Almanac for the Year of Our Lord 1832: being bissextile or leap year; and (till July 4th) the fifty-sixth of American Independence. Calculated for the Horizon and Meridian of Buffalo, Erie Co. (N. Y.), but will serve for any of the adjoining counties of this State, the Province of Upper Canada, or eastern part of Ohio. Containing, besides the usual Astronomical Observations, a variety of useful and entertaining matter. Buffalo: Printed and sold by Steele & Faxon, 214 Main Street. Great allowance made to those who purchase by the quantity. 12mo. pp. [24].

A Directory for the City of Buffalo; containing the names and residence of the heads of families and householders, in said city, on the first of July, 1832. To which is added a sketch of the history of the village, from 1801 to 1832. Buffalo: Published by L. P. Crary. Steele & Faxon, printers. 1832. 12mo. pp. 122. [Advs., 8 pp.]

The second Buffalo Directory, published in the year of incorporation as a city.

[FILLMORE, MILLARD.] An Examination of the Question, "Is it right to require any Religious Test as a Qualification to be a



witness in a Court of Justice?" By Juridicus. Buffalo: Printed by Charles Faxon. 1832. 8vo. pp. 16.

"Juridicus" was Millard Fillmore, and the contents of this pamphlet first appeared as a series of papers in the *Buffalo Patriot*, during the winter of '31-'32.

REMINGTON (*Rev.*) DAVID. A sermon, preached at the funeral of Deacon Asa Field; who died at Cayuga Creek, Erie County, N. Y. December 6, 1831. Aged 74. By Rev. James Remington. Buffalo: Printed by Steele & Faxon. 1832. 8vo. pp. 14.

WHITE, SENECA. Ki noh shuh, nr wen ne un, na da wi sem nyo qurh. nas hr ne a nent ho yot dub, gr non, no noh ka. do shoo wl, da ku, skr a, noh da wen nyer a, seh ne use has he na, tik ne, skr a. By Seneca White. Printed at the Republican Press. 1832. 24mo. pp. 45.

A book of hymns in the Seneca, but without accents. An approximate translation of the title is: "Songs to praise God. in the language of the Senecas. Buffalo, the year 1832."

Fac-simile herewith.

Ki noh shuh, nr wen ne un,  
na da wi sem nyo qurh.  
nas hr ne a nent ho yot dub,  
gr non, no noh ka. do shoo wl,  
da ku, skr a, noh da wen nyer a,  
seh ne use has he na, tik ne, skr a.

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**BY SENECA WHITE.**

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PRINTED AT THE REPUBLICAN PRESS

1832.



WILLIAMS, ARA. *The Inquirer's Guide to Gospel Truth; or Doctrinal Methodism defended against the assaults of its enemies, by Scriptural proofs and rational arguments.* By Ara Williams, Minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church. [*Quot. 21.*] Buffalo: Printed by Steele & Faxon, for Rev. J. Marsh. 1832. 12mo. pp. 324.

## 1833.

APPLEBEE, MARY. *A Narrative of the Wreck of the Schooner New Connecticut, on Lake Erie, Sept. 4th, 1833.* Together with an account of the miraculous preservation of Mrs. Mary Applebee, [who was] confined in the cabin five days! the schooner being for the greater part of the time immersed in water. Buffalo: [. . . 1833?] 8vo. pp. 14. Cut of vessel in middle of title-page.

Bracketed portions of title as given above, conjectured, the only copy seen being torn. Mrs. Applebee dates her narrative "Aurora, Oct. 1, 1833," and the pamphlet was no doubt printed soon after. Her adventure is one of the most remarkable in the annals of the lakes.

Laws and ordinances of the Common Council of the City of Buffalo, re-enacted July 19, 1833. Published by order of the Common Council. Buffalo: Printed by David M. Day. 1833. 8vo. pp. 32.

TAYLOR, C. B. *A Universal History of the United States of America, embracing the whole period, from the earliest discoveries, down to the present time.* Giving a description of the Western Country, its soil, settlements, increase of population, &c. In three parts. By C. B. Taylor. Buffalo, N. Y. Published by Ezra Strong. Stereotyped by James Conner. 1833. 12mo. pp. 534, vi. Twenty-three woodcuts, all preceding the title-page.

It is probable that the plates were made in New York, but the work was issued in Buffalo in the year named, substantially bound in sheep. The woodcuts, among them "Buffalo, N. Y., burned by the British, Dec. 30th, 1813," are curios.

## 1834.

[*Almanac.*] Steele's Buffalo Almanac for the Year of Our Lord 1834. . . . 12mo. pp. 24.

Only copy seen with incomplete title-page.

By-Laws of the Medical Society of the County of Erie: together with the Laws of the State of New York, relative to the Medical Profession, and System of Medical Ethics. Published for the Society. Buffalo: Charles Faxon, printer. M. DCCC XXXIV. 8vo. pp. 41.

[*Holland Purchase.*] *An Appeal to the People of the State of New York; being a Report of the Executive Committee of a Convention of Delegates from the several counties within the Holland Purchase, held at Buffalo the 19th-20th February, 1834.* Buffalo: Charles Faxon, printer. 1834. 8vo. pp. 72.



HISTORY OF ENGLAND  
Abridged:  
BY  
*John Robinson D.D.*



BUFFALO, N.Y.  
*Published by Hazelt & Francis.*

1826.

5.50cts. or less





MARTYN, (REV.) J. H. A Narrative of the origin and progress of the First Free Congregational Church, in Buffalo, New York: with an account of their late protracted meeting. By J. H. Martyn, pastor of said church. Buffalo: Printed by H. A. Salisbury. 1834. 8vo. pp. 16.

INGRAHAM, JOSEPH WENTWORTH. A Manual for the use of visitors [*sic*] to the Falls of Niagara: intended as an epitome of, and temporary substitute for, a larger and more extended work, relative to this most stupendous Wonder of the World. By Joseph Wentworth Ingraham. [*Quot. 41.*] Buffalo: Printed for the author, by Charles Faxon. Sold by O. G. Steele, T. Butler, and A. W. Wilgus. 1834. 16mo. pp. 72.

The first guide-book to Niagara Falls was published in 1834, though for many years the travelers' hand-books and tour-books had contained a good deal relative to the Niagara region, both historical and descriptive. Horatio A. Parsons published a Niagara guide in this year, and claimed it was the first book of the kind. Ingraham's book appeared in July, and was the outcome of studies he had begun in 1833. It was a thoroughly original work, not the least useful feature being a list of 135 works which he had consulted, ranging in date from 1660 to 1833—the first bibliography of the Niagara region. He contemplated a larger work, which it does not appear was ever published. On the paper covers of his Manual he gave additional data and corrected many errors in the work due to haste. Some copies contain an inserted leaf facing the title-page, bearing a "Postscript—Eureka!" dated Niagara Falls, July 17, 1834, in which Mr. Ingraham reports the first exploration of the Cave of the Winds—to which he gave that name—on July 15th, by Geo. W. Sims and B. H. White. "Yesterday Mr. Sims again entered it, with Messrs. J. R. Snyder and C. R. Howe; and today (reader, do you not congratulate me?) I had myself the great gratification of gaining access to this '*locus foctus furentibus austris*' accompanied and assisted (for no one could do it alone) by Messrs. Sims and Snyder, and S. Whitney, son of Gen. W. . . . The possibility of entering this cavern with safety, having now been satisfactorily settled, Judge Porter is having a path cut down to it." Ingraham is best known as a lecturer and writer on Palestine, illustrator of the geography of the Bible, etc. In the "advertisement" of the Niagara "Manual," dated "Niagara Falls, July 1, 1834," Mr. Ingraham says: "I would have had this little tract printed on better paper, if it could have been procured in this vicinity; but it may add some interest to the book, in the eyes of visitors, to be informed, that the paper on which it is printed, was manufactured at the Falls; and the waters of the Niagara, therefore, are intimately blended with its every fibre."

SEAVER, JAMES E. and WRIGHT, (REV.) ASHER. The Interesting Narrative of Mary Jemison, who lived nearly seventy-eight years among the Indians. [Buffalo, 1834.] 12mo. pp. 36.

Only copy known (library of present compiler) lacks title-page, but has display heading as above on p. 1. The narrative is



A

**DISCOURSE,**  
**DELIVERED AT THE DEDICATION**  
**OF THE**  
**BRICK CHURCH,**  
**IN**  
**BUFFALO, N. Y.**

MARCH 23, 1827.

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**BY A. D. EDDY,**  
Pastor of the First Congregational Church, in Canandaigua

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**BUFFALO :**  
**PRINTED BY DAY, FOLLETT & HASKINS.**  
**1827.**

AN EARLY PAMPHLET ON THE HISTORY OF THE "FIRST" CHURCH.



Seaver's, much abbreviated from the original edition (Canandaigua, 1824). Mr. Wright adds about half a page, on Mary Jemison's removal from Gardau to the Buffalo Creek Reservation, her conversion to Christianity, death and burial, September, 1833. This abridgement by Mr. Wright, apparently the rarest of all the editions, was reprinted, with wonderful woodcuts, by Miller & Butterfield, Rochester, 1840.

### 1835.

An Act to Incorporate the City of Buffalo, passed Apr. 20, 1832. Buffalo, H. A. Salisbury, 1835. 8vo. pp. 34.

Laws and Ordinances of the Common Council. . . . Buffalo, H. A. Salisbury, 1835. 8vo. pp. 37.

A Directory for the City of Buffalo; containing the names and residence of the heads of families and householders, in said city, on the first of June, 1835. L. P. Crary, publisher. Buffalo: Charles Faxon, printer. 1835. 12mo. pp. 139. [Advts. 16.]

Buffalo's third Directory. As usual in old publications the advertisements are one of the most interesting and historically valuable features.

PARSONS, HORATIO A. A Guide to Travelers visiting the Falls of Niagara, containing much interesting and important information respecting the Falls and vicinity, accompanied by maps. By Horatio A. Parsons. A. M. Second edition greatly enlarged. Buffalo: Published by Oliver G. Steele. Charles Faxon, printer. 1835. 18mo. pp. 96. Two maps on one folding sheet.

No copy of the first edition of this work, if indeed there is an earlier one, known to the present compiler. In the present edition the "Advertisement" states that it was first published in 1834; if so, it may contest with Ingraham's Manual for priority in this field of literature. Parsons says: "The plan of publishing such a manual was formed eight years ago, and most of the materials were then collected and arranged; but for various reasons it was not published till the year 1834, though it was the first book of the kind that had ever been published respecting the Falls. Most of the first edition was sold in the course of three months last season." The effort to forestall any claim to priority that might be made by or for Ingraham, is obvious.

SHELTON, (REV.) WILLIAM. The High Influence of Noble Minds and Liberal Institutions. A discourse, delivered at the first meeting of the Young Men's Association, on the 18th of March, 1835. [Quot. 11.] By William Shelton, A. M. Rector of St. Paul's Church, Buffalo. Buffalo: Charles Faxon, printer. 1835. 12mo. pp. 24.

[SHELTON, (REV.) WILLIAM.] Address delivered before a large assembly of Citizens of Buffalo, convened for the purpose of promoting the Interests of Temperance. Buffalo: Printed by H. A. Salisbury. 1835. 12mo. pp. 12.

This publication, the address which it contains, by the rector of St. Paul's, and the public meeting which it records, stand for



A  
**DIRECTORY**  
FOR THE  
**VILLAGE OF BUFFALO,**  
CONTAINING THE NAMES AND RESIDENCE  
OF THE  
**HEADS OF FAMILIES**  
AND  
**HOUSEHOLDERS,**  
IN SAID VILLAGE. ON THE FIRST OF JAN. 1828.  
TO WHICH IS ADDED A SKETCH OF  
THE HISTORY OF THE VILLAGE,  
FROM 1801 TO 1823.  

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**BUFFALO**  
**PUBLISHED BY L. P. CRARY.**  
Day, Follett & Haskins, Printers.  
1828.





an early—perhaps the earliest—general movement to promote the cause of temperance in Erie County and Buffalo. The address was originally given on February 10, 1835. On March 3d a committee consisting of Thos. C. Love, N. P. Sprague, Wm. Ketchum, S. G. Austin, J. C. Meeks, A. Eaton and D. Bowen was named, at a citizens' meeting. They induced Mr. (he was not then "Dr.") Shelton to repeat the address and announced their purpose "to publish and distribute a copy thereof to every family in the County of Erie."

### 1836.

Annual report of the Sailors' and Boatmen's Friend Society, presented June 9, 1836; with an account of the formation of the American Bethel Society, and a statement of the plan of Bethel operations upon the inland waters. Buffalo, N. Y. T. & M. Butler. 1836. 8vo. pp. 24.

The president of the Sailors' and Boatmen's Friend Society at this date was Heman B. Potter, who succeeded Hiram Pratt, Orlando Allen being treasurer and the Rev. Stephen Peet, corresponding secretary.

Articles of Agreement and Association, of the Michigan City Land Company. Buffalo: Printed for the Company. Day, Stagg & Cadwallader, Prs. 1836. 12mo. pp. 12.

Samuel Wilkeson was the only Buffalonian whose name appears as a stockholder.

[Black Rock.] A concise view of Black Rock, including a map and schedule of property, belonging to the Niagara City Association, with a description of and boundaries of the same, and the articles of agreement, forms and regulations of the Niagara City Association, and the Black Rock Land and Railway Company. Black Rock. 1836. 16mo. pp. 92.

Large folding map (24 by 34 in.) of "the Village of Black Rock as surveyed and drawn by Henry Lovejoy for the Black Rock Land & Rail Road Co. May 1836," etc. It locates old Fort Adams, the river batteries and other points connected with the War of 1812. Of great value in many respects. Some copies appear to have been bound up without the map. An exceedingly scarce volume.

COLMAN, (REV.) HENRY. A sermon at the dedication of the Independent Congregational Church, in Meadville, Penn. August 20, 1836. By Henry Colman. Buffalo: Press of Oliver G. Steele. 1836. 8vo. pp. 27.

[CHAPIN, CYRENIUS.] Chapin's Review of Armstrong's Notices of the War of 1812. Black Rock: D. P. Adams, printer—Advocate office. 1836. 8vo. pp. v-50.

Constitution and By-Laws of the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo. Buffalo: Press of Oliver G. Steele, 1830. 12mo. pp. 22.

A Directory for the City of Buffalo; containing the names and



residence of the heads of families and householders, in said city, on the first of May, 1836. L. P. Crary, publisher. Buffalo: Charles Faxon, printer. 1836. 12mo. pp. 162, [advts. 28].

Among other features it contains a chronological list of the principal events of the War of 1812 on the Niagara Frontier, the Constitution of the Young Men's Association, and an illustration and description of a monument to Com. Perry which it was proposed to erect in Buffalo, of white marble, 100 feet high surmounted by a statue of Perry fifteen feet in height. This project reached the stage of committees, and apparently stuck there.

[Erie Canal.] Review of the Pamphlet of "Oswego," against the intended enlargement of the Erie Canal. By Equal Rights. Buffalo: Printed by Day, Stagg & Cadwallader. 1836. 8vo. pp. 21.

Page 3, in the only copy seen (B. H. S. library), is blank, but the text is complete, reading from page 2 to 4.

EYRE, JOHN. The Beauties of America. By John Eyre [*Quot.* 31.] Buffalo: Printed for the author [Steele's Press]. 1836. 12mo. pp. iv-72.

The introduction dated "Shelby, Aug. 27, 1836." The body of the book is a series of letters, August, 1834, to December, 1836, including several dated at Batavia, Royalton, Newark, Manchester (Niagara Falls), Buffalo, etc. A long account of Niagara Falls is given, mainly from Father Hennepin and "The Book of Niagara Falls." The author saw strange things in Buffalo, e. g., "a young woman with an uncommon affliction in one leg. . . . It was considerably larger in circumference than my body with my clothes included and as I understood measured round a yard and a quarter." (p. 6.) Eyre was the author of a well known volume of "Travels," etc., New York, 1851.

HAWLEY, SETH C. An Address delivered before the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo, on the evening of March 22, 1836. By Seth C. Hawley, President of the Association. Buffalo: Press of Oliver G. Steele. 1836. 8vo. pp. 20.

PARSONS, HORATIO A. The Book of Niagara Falls. By Horatio A. Parsons, A. M. Third edition, carefully revised and enlarged. Accompanied by maps. Buffalo: Oliver G. Steele. 1836. 16mo. pp. 111 [1].

Two maps on one folding sheet: "Map of Niagara River and parts adjacent," and "Map of Niagara Falls and Vicinity," both by H. A. Parsons.

[Rathbun, Benj.] Deeds of Assignment. Benjamin Rathbun, to Hiram Pratt, Lewis F. Allen, Joseph Clary, Thomas C. Love and Millard Fillmore. Recorded in Erie County Clerk's Office, August 20, 1836. . . . [Buffalo, 1836.] 12mo. pp. 17.

[Rathbun, Benj.] Plan of an Association of the creditors of B. Rathbun. . . . Daily Commercial Advertiser—Extra. Press of Salisbury, Manchester & Co. Buffalo, Nov. 1, 1836. 8vo. pp. 20.

Steele's Western Guide Book, and Emigrant's Directory, containing different routes through the States of New York, Ohio, Indiana,



Illinois and Michigan, with short description of the Climate, Soil, Productions, Prospects, &c. Fifth Edition. Greatly improved and enlarged. Buffalo: Published by Oliver G. Steele. 1836. 16mo. pp. 108.

No other edition of this well-made little volume has been seen by the compiler.

### 1837.

An Act to incorporate the City of Buffalo, passed April 20, 1832. Buffalo: Press of Day, Stagg & Cadwallader, Printers to the Corporation. 1837. 8vo. pp. 8, 34, [Laws and Ordinances:] 40, vi.

The Act of Incorporation, and By-Laws of the Mechanics' Society of Buffalo. Passed April, 1836. Buffalo: Press of Oliver G. Steele. 1837. 12mo. pp. 12.

A Catalogue of Books in the Library of the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo. Founded 22d February, 1836. Incorporated March 3d, 1837. Buffalo: Press of Oliver G. Steele. 1837. 8vo. pp. 42. Last two pages wrongly numbered.

CHILDS, (*Rev.*) WARD. Five Sermons on Sanctification. By Rev. Ward Childs, Pastor of the Church at Strykersville. Published by request of said church. Buffalo: Printed at the Spectator office. 1837. 8vo. pp. 32.

Constitution and By-Laws of the Apprentices' Society to which is annexed a catalogue of books comprising their library. Buffalo: Printed by David L. Wood. 1837. 16mo. pp. 17.

The library numbered 435 volumes.

DAVIS, ROBERT. The Canadian Farmer's Travels in the United States of America, in which remarks are made on the Arbitrary Colonial Policy practiced in Canada, and the free and equal rights and happy effects of the liberal institutions and astonishing enterprise of the United States. By Robert Davis. Buffalo: Printed for the Author. [Steele's Press.] 1837. 12mo. pp. 107, [1].

A Directory for the City of Buffalo; containing the names and residence of the heads of families, householders, and other inhabitants, in said city, on the 1st of May, 1837. Published by Mrs. Sarah (widow of the late L. P.) Crary. Buffalo: Printed by Charles Faxon. 1837. 12mo. pp. 143, [advs. 19].

Mrs. Crary was Buffalo's first woman publisher.

[Erie Canal.] Proceedings of the Convention, upon the subject of an immediate enlargement of the Erie Canal; held at the courthouse in Rochester, on the 18th and 19th days of January, 1837. Buffalo: Charles Faxon, printer. 1837. 8vo. pp. 28.

Irving, on Lake Erie. Buffalo: Charles Faxon, printer. 1837. 12mo. pp. 43.

A cover-title only.



[Rathbun, Benj.] In Chancery, before the Chancellor. Hiram Pratt, Joseph Clary and Lewis F. Allen, Complainants, vs. Benjamin Rathbun and his Creditors, Defendants. . . . Buffalo, 1837. Sm. 4to. pp. [99].

Contains the petition of the complainants, the deed of assignment, and schedules of property, etc.

RECTOR, (*Rev.*) N. D. A Short Account of the Life, Experience, Call to the Ministry, and Exclusion of N. D. Rector. To which is added, some proceedings of the benevolent associations of the day, from their own records. . . . Boston, (Erie Co.). Published by the Author. Day, Stagg & Cadwallader, Prs. Buffalo. 1837. 8vo. pp. 67.

Steele's Western Almanac for the Year of Our Lord 1837: being the first year after Leap Year; and of American Independence till July 4th, the sixty-first. Calculated for the Meridian of Western New York. . . . Astronomical calculations by William W. M'Louth. Buffalo: Published by T. & M. Butler. 1836. 12mo. pp. 24.

[Young Men's Association.] First Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo. Reported and adopted Feb. 8, 1837. Buffalo: Press of Oliver G. Steele. 1837. 8vo. pp. 13.

### 1838.

By-Laws of Red Jacket Fire Company. [No. 6. Portrait of Red Jacket.] Buffalo: Steele's Press. 1838. 16mo. pp. 8.

CLAY, HENRY. Speech of the Hon. Henry Clay. Buffalo, March 23, 1838. 8vo. pp. 22.

Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser* Extra. The speech was on the banking system, delivered in the U. S. Senate, Feb. 19, 1838.

A Directory for the City of Buffalo; containing the names and residence of the heads of families and householders, in said city, on the first day of May, 1838. Leonard P. Crary, publisher. Buffalo: Printed by Charles Faxon. 1838. 12mo. pp. 150. [Advs. 18.]

"The publication of the Buffalo Directory is not a source of profit to its author; all works which have preceded the present volume have been an actual loss."—*Publisher's Introduction.*

The Independent Treasury: Abstract of a bill to impose additional duties, as depositaries, upon certain public officers, &c. Together with the speech of the Hon. Silas Wright, Jr., of the Senate, in support of the bill; also, the report of the Committee of Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, on the Currency. Buffalo: Printed by Charles Faxon. No. 156, Main Street. 1838. 8vo. pp. 59.

A Buffalo *Daily Star*, Extra.

LORD, (*Rev.*) JOHN C. Errors in Theory, Practice and Doctrine. A Sermon, delivered before the Synod of Genesee, at their an-





- annual meeting at Buffalo, October 10, 1838. By John C. Lord, A. M. Pastor of the Pearl-Street Church, Buffalo. Buffalo: Press of Day & Steele. 1838. 8vo. pp. 24.
- LORD, (*Rev.*) JOHN C. The Popular Objections of Infidelity, stated and answered in a series of lectures addressed to the Young Men of Buffalo. By John C. Lord, A. M., Pastor of the Pearl Street Presbyterian Church. Buffalo: Published by Steele & Peck. 1838. 16mo. pp. 223.
- PIERCE, MARIS B. Address on the present condition and prospects of the aboriginal inhabitants of North America, with particular reference to the Seneca Nation. By M. B. Pierce, a Chief of the Seneca Nation, and a member of Dartmouth College. [Buffalo:] Steele's Press. 1838. 8vo. pp. 16.
- REMINGTON, WILLIAM A. [The Battle of Black Rock, Jan. 12, 1838. By William A. Remington.]  
A long poem, reprinted, with notes, in Cyrus K. Remington's "Souvenir and Historical Sketch," etc., *q. v.* No copy of original known.
- Report of the Trustees and Managers of the Society established in the City of Buffalo, for the relief of Orphan and Destitute Children, as read in the First Presbyterian Church, Dec. 27, 1837; together with official documents illustrating the past history and present condition of the asylum founded by said society. Buffalo: Press of Oliver G. Steele. 1838. 8vo. pp. 30.
- Rules for the Government of the Sunday School of Trinity Church, Buffalo. Buffalo: Stagg & Cadwallader, City Printers. 1838. 12mo. pp. 12.
- Statement of the Financial Transactions of the Banking Firm of Truscott, Green & Co., of Toronto, in connection with Green, Brown & Co. of New York; and Brown, Buckland & Co. of Buffalo. Buffalo, July 1838. Buffalo: 1838. 8vo. pp. 28.
- Steele's Western Almanack, for the Year of Our Lord 1838. . . . [*Cut of lake vessel.*] Astronomical calculations by William W. M'Louth. Buffalo: Published by Steele & Peck. Steele's Press. 12mo. pp. 24.
- [Upper Canada Rebellion.] The Trial of General Th. J. Sutherland, late of the Patriot Army, before a Court Martial convened at Toronto on the 13th day of March, A. D. 1838 . . . on the charge of having, as a citizen of the United States, levied war in the Province of Upper Canada against Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, &c. With his Defence, and other documents. Buffalo: Press of Oliver G. Steele. 1838. 8vo. pp. 87.
- [Y. M. A.] Second Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Young Men's Association, of the City of Buffalo, with the by-laws, list of officers, and act of incorporation. Buffalo: Press of Oliver G. Steele. 1838. 8vo. pp. 23.



1839.

[Buffalo Baptist Association. . . . Report. 1839. 8vo.]

Fragment only seen, Buffalo Public Library.

Charter of the City of Buffalo: with the several amendments: to which are added the Laws and Ordinances of the City of Buffalo. Revised, Jan. 1839. Published by order of the Common Council. Buffalo: Press of Thomas & Co. No. 165 Main St. 1839. 8vo. pp. 93.

Laws and Ordinances of the City of Buffalo. Revised, Jan. 1839. Published by order of the Common Council. Buffalo: Press of Thomas & Co. No. 165 Main Street. 1839. 8vo. pp. 103.

DE VEAUX, S. The Falls of Niagara, or Tourist's Guide to this Wonder of Nature, including notices of the Whirlpool, islands, &c. And a complete Guide thro' the Canadas. Embellished with engravings. By S. De Veaux. Buffalo: William B. Hayden. Press of Thomas & Co. 1839. 16mo. pp. 168 [1].

Front, "Map of Niagara River"; full-page views: "Niagara Falls from the American side, near the Ferry staircase"; "Burning of the Steamboat Caroline"; "Niagara Falls, from Canada near the Clifton House"; "View of Brock's Monument, Queens-ton Heights."

[Directory.] For 1839-40. The Buffalo City Directory: containing a list of the names, residence and occupation of the heads of families, householders, &c. on the first of May, 1839. Faxon & Graves and A. W. Wilgus, publishers. Buffalo: Printed by Faxon & Graves. 1839. 12mo. pp. 144. [Advs. 12.]

GRIMES, J. STANLEY. A New System of Phrenology. By J. Stanley Grimes, President of the Western Phrenological Society, at Buffalo. [Quot. 3 l.] Buffalo: Oliver G. Steele. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 1839. 12mo. pp. 320.

Front, diagram, lithographic plates, and small cuts in text.

HASKINS, ROWELL WILLSON. History and Progress of Phrenology. . . . Buffalo 1839.

Not seen by compiler: title from British Museum catalogue.

LORD. (Rev.) JOHN C. "Pride, fulness of Bread, and abundance of Idleness. The Prominent Causes of the Present Pecuniary Distress of the Country. A sermon, delivered at the Pearl Street Church, on Sabbath, October 27, 1839. By John C. Lord, A. M., pastor of said church. Buffalo: Press of Thomas & Co. No. 165 Main Street. 1839. 8vo. pp. 20.

NICHOLS, THOMAS L. Address delivered at Niagara Falls, on the evening of the twenty-ninth of December, 1838, the anniversary of the burning of the Caroline, by Thomas L. Nichols. Buffalo: Printed by Charles Faxon. 1839. 8vo. pp. 14.

*A Mercury & Buffalonian Extra.*

REMINGTON. (Rev.) DAVID. A Sermon occasioned by the death of Henry Snyder, who died at Lancaster, N. Y., January 6, 1839.



Aged 20 years and 10 months. By Rev. James Remington. Buffalo: Press of Thomas & Co. No. 165 Main Street. 1839. 8vo. pp. 14.

A summary declaration of the faith and practice of the Washington street Baptist Church of Christ, in Buffalo, N. Y. Buffalo: Press of Thomas & Co. 1839. 16mo. pp. 15.

[Y. M. A.] Third Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo. With the by-laws, list of officers, and act of incorporation. Buffalo: Press of Thomas & Co. No. 165 Main Street. 1839. 8vo. pp. 24.

[NICHOLS, THOMAS L.] Vindication of the so-called "Clique." Published by order of the Executive Committee. Buffalo. 1839. 12mo. pp. 24.

### 1840.

Anecdotes of the Emperour Napoleon, and His Times. From the most approved French authorities. Edited by an American. Buffalo: A. W. Wilgus, 203 Main Street. 1840. 12mo. pp. v-252.

Probably the work of R. W. Haskins.

[Chautauqua Co. Schools.] First Annual Report of the Chautauqua County Common School Institute, held at a meeting of the Society in Fredonia, January 1, 1840. By B. J. Seward, Chairman of the Executive Committee. Buffalo: Printed at Steele's Press. 1840. 8vo. pp. 24.

[Directory.] For 1840. Buffalo City Directory; containing a list of the names, residence and occupation of the heads of families, householders, &c., on the first of May, 1840. Faxon & Graves, publishers. Horatio N. Walker, compiler. Buffalo: Faxon & Graves, printers. 1840. 12mo. pp. 178, [advs. 16].

[Harrison Glee Club.] A new collection of songs, glees and catches. Arranged and sung, by the Harrison Glee Club. Buffalo: Published by the club. Press of Thomas & Co. 1840. 16mo. pp. 36.

The members of the Harrison Glee Club were: George W. Houghton, Thomas B. Chase, James H. Kimberley, William A. Remington, William Fiske, Lambert S. Reynolds, John S. Putnam, Calvin F. S. Thomas. Some of the songs (original) are of local character, e. g. "Come Lockport Whigs," sung by the club at a Whig concert at Lockport, beginning:

Come, Lockport Whigs, give us your paws, and tell us how you do;  
We hail from sister Buffalo, to sing Whig songs with you,  
We'll hear you sing, or hear you speak, or shouts of triumph send  
With you in cheers of victory, to Harry of North Bend;  
A brave old gentleman is he,  
Our future President.

HOSMER, GEORGE W. An address delivered before the Erie County Common School Education Society, at Buffalo, N. Y., February 3, 1840. By George W. Hosmer. Buffalo: Printed at Steele's Press. 1840. 8vo. pp. 23.



Hymns for the use of Sabbath Schools. Published by the Buffalo Sabbath School Teachers Association. [*Quot. 21.*] Buffalo: Steele's Press. 1840. 24mo. pp. 24.

The schools at that time connected with the association were the First Presbyterian, Washington Street Baptist, Methodist Episcopal, Pearl Street, Park, Protestant Methodist, Bethel, Elk Street, Erie Street, South Division Street, Union on Goodell Street, Cold Spring, Black Rock, Black Rock lower village, and Clintonville.

[I. O. O. F.] Charter, Constitution, By-Laws and Rules of Niagara Lodge, Number 25, of the I. O. O. F. Adopted the 26th of December, 1839. Buffalo: George Zahm, German and English printer. 1840. 12mo. pp. 24.

Legend of the Whirlpool. [*Quot. 21.*] Buffalo: Press of Thomas & Co. 1840. 16mo. pp. 24. Front, folding map of Niagara Falls, and guide table.

Contains a prose description of the Whirlpool, a poem, the "Legend," of 46 8-line stanzas, a part of which was published in the *United States Magazine*, Oct. 1839; and four pages of notes.

NICHOLS, THOMAS L. Journal in Jail, kept during a four months' imprisonment for libel, in the jail of Erie County. [*Cut, prison bars.*] By Thomas L. Nichols. Buffalo: A. Dinsmore. 1840. 12mo. pp. 248.

For some account of this book and its author, see Buf. Hist. Soc. Pubs. Vol. IV, p. 371. Also, "Bibliography of Upper Canada Rebellion," Buf. Hist. Soc. Pubs., Vol. V. p. 476. Nichols was the author of several books, an incomplete list of which is given in Sabin.

[Schools.] Third Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, of the City of Buffalo. For 1839. Filed February 1, 1840. Buffalo: Printed at Steele's Press. 1840. 8vo. pp. 12, [1].

Report made by O. G. Steele.

Steele's Book of Niagara Falls. Seventh edition, carefully revised and improved. Illustrated by maps of the Falls and immediate vicinity, and of the Niagara River, from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario, and six new views. Buffalo: Oliver G. Steele. 1840. 16mo. pp. 109, [1].

Lithographed illustrations and two maps on folded sheet. A note on last page tells of the blowing up of Brock's monument "by some as yet unknown miscreants on the night of the 17th April 1840."

[Y. M. A.] Fourth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo. Buffalo: Press of Thomas & Co., No. 165 Main Street. 1840. 8vo. pp. 14.





## 1841.

ALLYN, WILLIAM G. Allyn's Exchange Tables, designed to furnish the public with an accurate set of calculations for computing Profit and Loss, Interest and Exchange. . . . By William G. Allyn. . . . Buffalo: Faxon & Read, and Robt. D. Foy. 1841. Roy. 8vo. pp. 180.

An Appeal to the Citizens of Buffalo, and of the County of Erie, in behalf of new and more efficient means of medical relief for the Sick Poor. Buffalo: Press of Thomas & Co. 165 Main Street. 1841. 8vo. pp. 24.

CLINTON, GEORGE W. Address of George W. Clinton, Esq., delivered before the Young Men's Temperance Society of Buffalo, March, 6th, 1841. Buffalo: Printed by Frechette & Scheffer, No. 9, Ellicott-Square. 1841. 8vo. pp. 10.

A "*Morning Times*—Extra." "The meeting convened in the Eagle St. Theatre upon the occasion on which the preceding address was delivered (in pursuance of a request of the society) was one of the largest and most enthusiastic ever held in this city. The large edifice was fuller than upon any former occasion, notwithstanding a snow storm almost unprecedented here, was raging at the time, and nearly a hundred ladies were in attendance." "About a hundred names" were added to "the pledge."

Confessions of Major McKellory, and John Johnson, together with a sketch of their lives, and the letters addressed to Mrs. Otis, and the sister of McKellory. Also, the Sentence of Death, pronounced by Judge Dayton. Buffalo: Printed for the publisher. 1841. 8vo. pp. 12.

The story of a brutal murder in the town of Concord, Erie Co., N. Y. Johnson, a negro, who was hanged for killing his wife, in Buffalo, stated in his confession that he was on the Washington when she burned in Lake Erie, and also on the Caroline, when she was set afire at Schlosser's in December, '37. He escaped, and is credited with saving the life of Mr. Wells, owner of the Caroline.

Constitution and Bye-Laws of the Young Men's Temperance Society of the City of Buffalo, organized Thursday, February 18th, 1841. Buffalo: Printed by Frechette & Scheffer, No. 9, Ellicott-Square. 1841. 8vo. pp. 8.

[I. O. O. F.] Constitution and By-Laws of Tehoseroron Lodge Number 48 I. O. of O. F. of the State of New York, held in the City of Buffalo, by authority of a charter from the Grand Lodge of the State of New York. Instituted Dec. 28, 1840. Buffalo: Printed at Steele's Press. 1841. 12mo. pp. 24.

DE VEAUX, SAMUEL. The Travellers' Own Book, to Saratoga Springs, Niagara Falls and Canada, containing routes, distances, conveyances, expenses, use of mineral waters, baths, description of scenery, etc. A complete guide, for the valetudinarian and for the tourist, seeking for pleasure and amusement. With



maps and engravings. By S. De Veaux. [*Quot. 2 l.*] Buffalo: Faxon & Read. 1841. 16mo. pp. 258.

Folding map, "Niagara Falls and adjoining shores," opp. title-page; "Map of Saratoga," opp. p. 51; 4 full-page views, and small woodcuts in text.

[Directory.] 1841. Crary's Directory for the City of Buffalo. The 65th year of American Independence. Containing a list of banks, insurance offices, associations, societies, &c., &c. With the names, residence and occupation of the heads of families, householders, &c., on the first of June, 1841. Faxon & Read, publishers. C. W. Graham, compiler. Buffalo: Faxon & Graves, printers. 1841. 12mo. pp. 195. [1, advts. 4.]

Pp. 37-71 in the body of the book are also advertisements.

FLINT, AUSTIN (M. D.) An Address delivered before the Buffalo Young Men's Temperance Society, Thursday evening, April 1, 1841. By Austin Flint, M. D. To which are added the Constitution of the Society, and a list of the members. Buffalo: Press of Thomas & Co., 165 Main-Street. 1841. 8vo. pp. 40.

FROST, P., *ed.* The Western Juvenile Harp. Designed for Sabbath and other Schools. Selected and arranged by P. Frost. Buffalo: Salisbury & Clapp, Printers, Exchange Buildings. 1841. 32mo. oblong. pp. 48.

HASKINS, R[OSWELL] W[ILSON] [Astronomy for schools]. Buffalo, A. W. Wilgus, 1841.

Not seen by compiler; mentioned in British Museum catalogue.

Hymns for the use of Sabbath Schools. Published by the Buffalo Sabbath School Teachers Association. [*Quot. 2 l.*] Second edition, improved. Buffalo: Steele's Press. 1841. 24mo. pp. 24.

[MARVIN, LE GRAND.] Expose of the 'Scene at the Court House,' in Buffalo, January 18, 1839, on the trial, at the Erie Circuit, of the cause Edward Kellogg & Co. vs. O. H. Dibble & Co. With an Appendix, touching an indictment of P. B. at the Erie Oyer and Terminer, in October, 1834. Buffalo: Press of Robt. D. Foy, 150 Main Street. 1841. 8vo. pp. 96. Folding diagrams of streets and lots, opp. p. 55.

One of Le Grand Marvin's eccentric pamphlets. The "P. B." mentioned in the title was Philander Bennett, indicted for alleged false swearing in a suit brought by Asa Marvin against Bennett and William Williams for an alleged deficiency in a block of land sold by Bennett to Asa Marvin, between Water, Le Contoux and Fly streets, and westerly line of outer lot No. 1 in the city of Buffalo, the statement being illustrated by diagrams. The cause of Kellogg & Co. vs. Dibble & Co. was to recover the amount of a promissory note. Not the least interesting feature of the work is the list of names of the jurors, and the witnesses, 24 for the plaintiff and 17 for the defendant.

Schism the Offspring of Error, illustrated in Historical Sketches of the Presbyterian Church of Warsaw, Genesee Co., N. Y. By



a committee of the church. [*Quot.* 31.] Buffalo: Press of Robt. D. Foy.—159 Main St. 1841. 8vo. pp. 26.

[Schools.] Fourth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools of the City of Buffalo, for 1840. Filed March, 1841. Buffalo: Press of Thomas & Co. 165 Main-Street. 1841. 8vo. pp. 8.

Made by Silas Kingsley, who had been Superintendent for but a few weeks at the date of the report, March 12, 1841.

[Seneca Mission Press.] Ne Jaguh'nigo'ages'g'wathah. . . . The Mental Elevator. Buffalo Creek Reservation. . . . 1841. 8vo. Size of printed page, 6 by 3 1-2 in.; pagination continuous throughout the parts, 144 pp. in all.

The unique journal, prepared and printed chiefly in Seneca, by the Rev. Asher Wright. No. 1 was issued Nov. 30, 1841, and the succeeding numbers as follow: Nov. 30 and Dec. 28, 1841; Mch. 2, Apr. 27, July 12, Dec. 29, 1842; Apr. 22, 1843; Mch. 21, and Apr. 1, 1845, all to this date printed at the Mission House on the Buffalo Creek Reservation. The succeeding issues were published at Cattaraugus: June 3, Nov. 17, Dec. 24 and 31, 1846; Nov. 9, Dec. 14, and 22, 1848; Jan. 27, 1849 (misprinted 1848); April 15, 1850. The last number contains laws of the Senecas, passed 1847-48, and a calendar for 1850. In the earlier numbers appear chaps. 1-9 of Genesis, parts of Exodus, the epistle of James, and miscellaneous articles in Seneca and English. Beginning with the issue of Dec. 29, 1842, the paper had a headpiece, engraved by — — Van Duzee, showing a pulpit and open Bible, a church, and two small landscapes, one with an Indian hunting, the other with white men pointing to a village with spire-crowned church.

[Steele, Oliver G.] Report of the select committee of the Common Council, on the subject of the Harbour and Business of the City of Buffalo, Made to the Common Council June 1, 1841. Buffalo: Printed at Steele's Press. 1841. 8vo. pp. 16.

Report written by O. G. Steele; signed by R. Sears, O. G. Steele and E. G. Spaulding. An admirable sketch of the early years of lake commerce and the growth of Buffalo harbor business.

STRONG, NATHANIEL F. Appeal to the Christian Community on the condition and prospects of the New York Indians, in answer to a book, entitled The Case of the New York Indians, and other publications of the Society of Friends. By Nathaniel T. Strong, a chief of the Seneca tribe. Buffalo: Press of Thomas & Co. No. 165 Main-Street. 1841. 8vo. pp. 63.

[Y. M. A.] Fifth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo. Steele's Press. Buffalo: 1841. 8vo. pp. 16.

## 1842.

[Directory.] 1842. Walker's Buffalo City Directory, containing a list of civil, naval and military officers, religious, benevolent and



philanthropic societies, local and miscellaneous statistics, &c., &c. In the County of Erie, with the names, residence and occupation of the business population, heads of families, &c. in the City of Buffalo, on the 1st of June, 1842. [*Quot. 3 l.*] By Horatio N. Walker. Population—1825 . . . 2,412. 1830 . . . 6,353. 1840 . . . 18,222. Buffalo: Steele's Press. 1842. 12mo. pp. 220, [1, advts. 50, 4].

A great advance over its predecessors. No Directory was issued in the following year.

HASKINS, R[OSWELL] W[ILLSON] (*A. M.*). A Popular Essay upon Comets. By R. W. Haskins, A. M. Author of "Astronomy for Schools." [*Quot. 3 l.*] Buffalo: A. W. Wilgus. 1842. 12mo. pp. 24.

Hymns for the use of Sabbath Schools, published by the Buffalo Sabbath School Teachers Association. [*Quot. 2 l.*] Fifth edition, improved. Buffalo: Press of Salisbury & Clapp. 1842. 24mo. pp. 32.

The Old Faith and the Good Way, an Expose of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Presbyterian Church explaining the difference between the doctrines of the Old and New School. By a committee of the late Caledonia Presbytery, now constituting the Presbyteries of Steuben and Wyoming. Containing a statement—1. Of the doctrines they hold, 2. The state of their churches, 3. The more efficient supervision of them by Presbytery. Buffalo: Press of Robt. D. Foy, 159 Main-St. 1842. 8vo. pp. 24.

Pictorial Guide to the Falls of Niagara: A Manual for Visitors [*sic*], giving an account of this stupendous natural wonder; and all the objects of curiosity in its vicinity; with every historical incident of interest; and also full directions for visiting the cataract and its neighboring scenes. Illustrated by numerous maps, charts, and engravings, from original surveys and designs. The illustrations designed and engraved by J. W. Orr. Buffalo: Press of Salisbury and Clapp. 1842. 16mo. pp. 232.

[Schools.] Fifth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, of the City of Buffalo. For 1841. Filed February 1, 1842. Buffalo: Printed at Steele's Press. 1842. 8vo. pp. 10, [2].

[Seneca Mission Press.] Go wana gwa' ih sat hah Yon de' yas Dah' gwah. A spelling-book in the Seneca language: with English definitions. Buffalo-Creek Reservation, Mission Press. 1842. 8vo. pp. 112.

In its way one of the most interesting and scholarly works, as it is one of the rarest, ever published in Buffalo. Following the title-page is an "explanation for English readers," eight pages, in which the system of spelling Seneca is explained. The author, the Rev. Asher Wright, says: "It is not to be supposed that with our imperfect knowledge of Seneca, we have discovered and marked accurately all the peculiarities of the language. It is sometimes also very difficult to decide on the correct usage, where there are differences of pronunciation among the Indians. In such cases we have sought for the pure Seneca in contradis-





inction from the idioms of Mohawk, Cayuga, Onondaga, &c., and for Seneca as spoken by the old men, whose habits were formed previous to the introduction of English ideas, and modifications of ideas, among the people." It contains "the definition of several hundred Seneca words and a tolerably complete explanation of the grammatical principles of the language except the verb. In respect to verbs no complete analysis has yet been effected; nor is there much reason to expect the accomplishment of this object until some competent Seneca scholar shall become a universal grammarian." The author speaks of the difficulty occasioned through lack of type with proper accents, and lack of money to procure it. The alphabet, with the sounds of the letters explained, fills p. 9; pp. 10-112 are progressive lessons, advancing from words of one syllable to the construction of sentences, and an exposition of the grammar of the language. The Seneca title as printed above does not show all the accents of the original.

*The West Vindicated.* A review (in part) of the address of General James Tallmadge, before the American Institute, Oct. 26, 1841. By a Western New Yorker. Steele's Press, Buffalo. 1842. 8vo. pp. 24.

By an ardent champion of the Erie Canal, who vigorously maintains that its commerce was not declining. Valuable for its statistics.

*Wilgus' Farmers' Almanack*, for the year of our Lord 1842 . . . calculated for the meridian of Buffalo, New York. . . . Astronomical calculations by George R. Perkins, A. M., of Utica. Buffalo: Published by A. W. Wilgus. 1842. 12mo. pp. [24].

[Young Men's Association.] *By-Laws, &c., of the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo.* March, 1842. 8vo. pp. 12.

Press of Salisbury & Clapp. Only copy seen lacking title-page.

[Y. M. A.] *Sixth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo.* Buffalo: Press of Salisbury & Clapp. 1842. 8vo. pp. 16.

[Young Men's Bible Society.] *Second Annual Report, of the Young Men's Bible Society of the City of Buffalo.* With the Constitution, list of officers, &c. Buffalo: Printed by Robt. D. Foy,—159 Main Street. 1842. 8vo. pp. 16.

### 1843.

[American Bethel Society.] *Seventh annual report of the American Bethel Society, presented at the annual meeting held in the City of Buffalo, June 7th, 1843.* Buffalo: Press of Robt. D. Foy, 159 Main-Street. 1843. 8vo. pp. 28.

[Buffalo Baptist Association.] *Minutes of the twenty-eighth anniversary of the Buffalo, formerly Holland Purchase Baptist Association, held with the Baptist Church in Hamburg, on the 13th and 14th of September, 1843.* Buffalo: Printed by A. W. Wilgus. 1843. 8vo. pp. 12+.



Incomplete copy, Buffalo Public Library. The Minutes for 1844 were printed by Edwin Hough at Springville.

By-Laws and Ordinances of the City of Buffalo. Enacted, 1843. Published by order of the Common Council. Buffalo: Press of George Zahm. 1843. 8vo. pp. 62.

Free Almanack, for the Year 1843. . . . [Buffalo:] Steele's Press. 12mo. pp. 24.

G[RABAU], J. A. A. Unterweisungs-Büchlein für die deutsche Jugend in ihrer Muttersprache, von einem wohlmeinenden Freunde der Jugend. Buffalo, Gedruckt und zu haben bei Geo. Zahm. 1843. 16mo. pp. 98+.

So far as known, the first book printed in Buffalo in German. The only copy seen, owned by Rev. John N. Grabau of Buffalo, is incomplete, but apparently lacks only one or two pages at the end.

A broadside, or poster, printed by Zahm in 1843: "Programm der Feierlichkeiten bei der Einweihung der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche zu Buffalo, den 25ten May, 1843," etc., is owned by Rev. J. A. W. Kirsch, Buffalo.

HARVEY, (Dr.) CHARLES W. Popular Directions for the management and preservation of the teeth. By Dr. Charles W. Harvey, dentist. Buffalo: Printed by A. M. Clapp. 1843. 16mo. pp. 24.

HASKINS, R[OSWELL] W[ILLSON] (A. M.). New England and the West. By R. W. Haskins, A. M. Reprinted from the Boston (Mass.) Atlas. Buffalo: A. W. Wilgus. 1843. 8vo. pp. 36.

A series of eight letters, written from Buffalo in October and November, 1842. They discuss the commerce and commercial prospects of Buffalo, give statistics of the commerce of the town, 1815-1827, others from the census of 1840, and, more fully, for 1841. The author made an intelligent study of the mutual relations of East and West, and ventured some interesting predictions as to the future of Buffalo.

HOPKINS, (Rev.) A. T. The American Patriot. A discourse delivered on the day of the Annual Thanksgiving, December 8, 1842, before the united congregations of the First and Park Churches, in the City of Buffalo. By A. T. Hopkins, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church. Buffalo: A. M. Clapp, printer. 1843. 8vo. pp. 20.

H[ULETT] T[HOMAS] G. Every Man his Own Guide to the Falls of Niagara, or the whole story in few words. By T. G. H., a resident at the Falls. Third edition, enlarged and embellished with engravings. To which is added a chronological table, containing the principal events of the late War between the United States and Great Britain. Also, a Legend of the Manitou Rock, at the Whirlpool: The Recession of Niagara Falls, by Professor Lyell. Buffalo: Printed by Faxon & Co. 1843. 16mo. pp. 58, [4], 48.

Two maps, one folding, 4 woodcuts. The "Legend of the Manitou Rock," with full title-page, was also issued separately.



LORD, (*Rev.*) JOHN C., (*D. D.*). The Doctrine and Order of the Presbyterian Church or the points of difference between the Old and New School. A sermon by Rev. John C. Lord, D. D. Published by request of the session of the First Old School Presbyterian Church in Buffalo, and the Presbytery of Wyoming. Buffalo: Press of Robt. D. Foy, 159 Main-street. 1843. 8vo. pp. 24.

Revised Charter of the City of Buffalo: Passed April 17, 1843, published by order of the Common Council. To which are added the Laws and Ordinances. Buffalo: Press of George Zahm. 1843. 8vo. pp. 80.

S[MITH], S. C. A Legend of the Manitou Rock. [*Quot. 2 l.*] By S. C. S. Containing also Professor Lyell's lecture upon the Recession of Niagara Falls. Printed by Faxon & Co. 1843. 16mo. pp. 48.

[Schools.] Sixth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, of the City of Buffalo. For 1842. Filed February 1, 1843. Buffalo: Printed at Steele's Press. 1843. 8vo. pp. 10, [1]. Report made by S. Caldwell, Superintendent.

[Seneca Mission Press.] Gaa nah shoh ne De o waah' sao'nyoh gwah na' wen ne' yuh . . . [rest of title missing in only known copies]. [Buffalo: Seneca Mission Press: 1843.] 16mo. pp. v. [1], 136.

The above fragmentary title from a copy found in the cornerstone of the old building at the Thomas Orphan Asylum on the Cattaraugus Reservation, erected 1855, torn down 1901. The book, with other examples of the Mission Press, has been re-deposited in the box of the cornerstone of the new building. The only other known copy (Buf. Hist. Soc.) lacks the title-page. "To English readers," pp. iii-v., is a key to the vowel sounds in the Seneca, with an anecdote of Old White Chief; pp. 7-124, 111 hymns in Seneca, and doxologies; pp. 123-136, index, analytical and explanatory, in English. Mrs. Asher Wright, in a note found with the Thomas Orphan Asylum copy, says this is the second edition of the Seneca Hymn Book.

SMITH, (*Rev.*) S[TEPHEN] R. Historical Sketches and Incidents, illustrative of the establishment and progress of Universalism in the State of New York. By S. R. Smith. Buffalo: Steele's Press. 1843. 16mo. pp. 248, [2].

By the Rev. Stephen R. Smith, for many years pastor of the Universalist Church in Buffalo. This work was followed by another volume of similar title, designated "second series," in 1848, q. v.

WAIT, BENJAMIN. Letters from Van Dieman's (*sic*) Land, written during four years' imprisonment for political offenses in Upper Canada. By Benjamin Wait. [*Quot. 2 l.*] Embodying, also, letters descriptive of personal appeals in behalf of her husband, and his fellow prisoners . . . by Mrs. B. Wait. Buffalo: A. W. Wilgus. 1843. 16mo. pp. vi., 356. Front. post, folding map of Van Diemen's Land.



See "Bibliography of Upper Canada Rebellion," *Buf. Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, Vol. V., p. 492.

WILKESON, (*Hon.*) SAMUEL. The subject of a Work House for the County of Erie discussed and considered. By Honorable Samuel Wilkeson. Buffalo: A. M. Clapp, printer, Exchange Buildings. 1843. 8vo. pp. 26.

Papers that originally appeared in the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*. Prefatory note by H. W. Rogers.

[Y. M. A.] Seventh Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo. Buffalo: Press of C. F. S. Thomas, No. 146 Main-Street. 1843. 8vo. pp. 15.

### 1844.

BUSH, (*Mrs.*) MARY A. Hymns original and selected for maternal meetings. [*Quot. 4 l.*] By Mrs. Mary A. Bush. Buffalo: Press of A. M. Clapp. 1844. 16mo. pp. 128.

[Directory.] 1844. Walker's Buffalo City Directory, containing a list of civil and military officers, religious, benevolent and philanthropic societies, local and miscellaneous statistics. With the names, residence and occupation, of the business population, heads of families, &c., in the City of Buffalo. Lat. 42° 50'—Lon. 79° 22'. [*Quot. 3 l.*] By Horatio N. Walker. Population, Aug. 1st, 1844—26,503. Buffalo: Lee & Thorp's Press. 1844. 12mo. pp. 236, [1, advt 14, index 2, calendar 2].

The next Buffalo Directory issued was for 1847.

HASKINS, R[OSWELL] W[ILLSON] (*A. M.*). The Arts, Sciences, and Civilization, anterior to Greece and Rome. (Read before the Young Men's Association, Buffalo, Feb. 12, 1844.) By R. W. Haskins, A. M. [*Quot. 2 l.*] Buffalo: A. W. Wilgus, 1844. 8vo. pp. 32.

HAYES, GEORGE E. Organization and Diseases of the Teeth: with familiar directions for preserving their health and beauty. [*Quot. 2 l.*] By Geo. E. Hayes, dentist, corner of Main and South Division Streets. Buffalo: Steele's Press. 1844. 16mo. pp. 80.

H[ULETT], T[OMAS] G. Every Man his Own Guide to the Falls of Niagara, or the whole story in few words. Enlarged and embellished with engravings. To which is added a chronological table, containing the principal events of the late war between the United States and Great Britain. By T. G. H., a resident at the Falls. Fourth edition. Buffalo: Printed by Faxon & Co. 1844. 16mo. pp. 128.

[I. O. O. F.] Constitution, By-Laws and Rules of Buffalo Lodge, No. 37, I. O. of O. F. Chartered, May 6, 1840. By-laws and rules as amended and adopted Jan. 2, 1844. [*Motto and cut, three links and eye.*] Buffalo: Printed by Lee & Thorp. 1844. 16mo. pp. 28.

Schools of Buffalo. Second semi-annual exhibition in singing at the Park Church. Saturday evening, June 22, 1844, at 7 o'clock.





Francis Hazelton, Teacher. [Buffalo, 1844. Thos. Newell, printer, 171 Main-Street.] 16mo. pp. 8.

[Schools.] Seventh Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, of the City of Buffalo, for 1843. Filed February 1, 1844. Buffalo: Printed at Zahm's Press. 1844. 8vo. pp. 16. [2].

[Seneca Mission Press.] Extracts from the Revised Statutes of the State of New York, volume I, part I, chapter xx, title viii. Of the prevention and punishment of immorality and disorderly practices. [Buffalo: Seneca Mission Press.] 1844. 16mo. pp. 16.

Wholly in English.

Steele's Almanack for the year 1844 . . . [*cut, sheaf of wheat.*] Astronomical calculations by Geo. R. Perkins, Professor of Mathematics, Utica, N. Y. Sold by O. G. Steele, 206 Main Street, Buffalo. Steele's Press. 12mo. pp. 24.

Steele's Niagara Falls Port-folio, containing eight new views of Niagara Falls taken from the most striking points. Also, a facsimile of a view taken by Father Hennepin in 1678. Lithographed by Hall & Mooney. Buffalo: Steele's Press. 1844.

No text. The views are 5 by 7 inches in size.

[Trial of Rev. Asa T. Hopkins.] Introduction containing the correspondence between the Sessions of Mr. Hopkins's and Dr. Lord's Churches. Also the letter of Dr. Lord to the Committee on Investigation. . . . n. p. [1844.] 8vo. pp. 9.

Issued without title-page, as an appendix to some other publication.

Trial of the Rev. Asa T. Hopkins, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Buffalo, before a special meeting of the Buffalo Presbytery; Commencing October 22, and ending October 31, 1844. . . . [Buffalo, 1844.] 8vo. pp. 39.

"First published in the Buffalo *Daily Gazette*, for which it was specially reported."

[Y. M. A.] Eighth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo. Buffalo: Press of C. F. S. Thomas. No. 146 Main-st. 1844. 8vo. pp. 16.

## 1845.

[American Bethel Society.] Ninth Annual Report of the American Bethel Society, presented at the annual meeting held in the City of Buffalo, Wednesday, June 4, 1845. Buffalo: Press of Charles E. Young. 1845. 8vo. pp. 28.

Bristol's Free Almanac for 1845. Astronomical calculations made expressly for this Almanac, by George R. Perkins, A. M., of Utica, which are guaranteed to be as perfect and complete as any published in the United States. Buffalo: Thomas, General Job Printer, Exchange Buildings, Main Street. [1845.] 8vo. pp. 32.

Bristol's Free Almanac for 1843 was published at Batavia by Lucas Seaver.



Claims of Reuben B. Heacock, on the Government of the United States, for property destroyed by the enemy, in the Late War. Buffalo: Printed by Manchester & Brayman. 1845. 8vo. pp. 20.

CLINTON, GEORGE W. Address, delivered by George W. Clinton, D. P. C. R., at the dedication of Erie Tent, No. 30, I. O. of R. in the City of Buffalo, Friday, October 24, 1845. Mercy and Truth are met together. [*Quot. 2 l.*] Buffalo: Press of C. E. Young 1845. 8vo. pp. 16.

[DE VEAUX, SAMUEL.] The Travellers' Own Book, to Saratoga Springs, Niagara Falls & Canada . . . By S. De Veaux. [*Quot. 2 l.*] Fifth edition. Buffalo: Faxon & Co. 1845. 16mo. pp. 251. Folding map of Niagara Falls, one of Saratoga, woodcuts.

Das Evangelium St. Matthai, von D. Martin Luther, in das Teutsche übersetzt. Nach dem Wittenbergischen Druck von 1545 abgedruckt, als ein christlich Lesebüchlein für diejenigen kleinen Schul-kinder, welche die christliche Schul-Fibel durchgelesen haben, und genug darin geübt sind. Buffalo, Druck und Verlag von Georg Zahn, 1845. 24mo. pp. 160.

Only copy seen, in possession of Rev. John N. Grabau of Buffalo.

Inventory of Assets of the City Bank of Buffalo, to be sold at auction at the Merchants' Exchange in the City of Buffalo, on Wednesday, the 12th Day of November, 1845. . . . Buffalo. 1845. 8vo. pp. 32.

An interesting reminder of the financial reverses of an early Buffalo institution. The copy of this publication owned by the Buffalo Historical Society formerly belonged to Albert S. Merrill, and it was his hand, no doubt, that added in pencil, throughout the pamphlet, the amount realized on the various items of assets at the auction. In the list of discounted notes and bills appears the following: "Daniel Webster, acceptance of draft of D. F. Webster, payable at the Phoenix Bank, N. Y., to his own order: due and protested 4th August, 1839, \$2,000." This sold to T. M. Burt for \$200. Another Webster draft for \$1250 sold to Mr. Burt for \$100.

[MOSHER, (Rev.) E.] Awful Disclosure! Murderers exposed: Death-bed confession: Death-bed confession and renunciation of the Right Rev. Bishop McMurray, Bishop of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Montreal, Canada, who died Aug. 11th, 1845. [*Quot. 2 l.*] . . . Printed for and published by Rev. E. Mosher. Buffalo, N. Y. 1845. 8vo. pp. 32.

New York Form Book, and Interest Tables: containing complete forms for the transaction of all the routine of business between man and man, requiring the execution of papers, together with the statutory provisions relating thereto; also complete interest tables, discount tables, scantling and timber measure, cubical contents of square timber, &c., &c. Buffalo: Oliver G. Steele. 1845. 12mo. pp. 132, 53.

Peck's Tourist Companion to Niagara Falls, Saratoga Springs, the Lakes, Canada, etc. Containing, in addition to full directions for



visiting the cataract and vicinity, the springs, etc., full tables of routes and distances from Niagara Falls to the principal places in the United States and Canada. Illustrated by numerous engravings, maps and charts, from original designs and surveys. Buffalo: William B. & Charles E. Peck. 1845. 16mo. pp. 194.

Valued for its fine maps, engraved by Carson, Albany.

[Schools.] Eighth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, of the City of Buffalo. For 1844. Filed February 1, 1845. Buffalo: Printed by Clapp & M'Credie, Exchange Buildings, 4th story. 1845. 8vo. pp. 17, [3].

Elias S. Hawley, Superintendent.

[WALKER, (*Hon.*) JESSE.] Fort Niagara, a tale of the Niagara Frontier. Buffalo. Steele's Press. 1845. 16mo. pp. 156.

The author, Judge Jesse Walker, speaks in a prefatory note of a "series of little books proposed to be published under the general title of 'Tales of the Niagara Frontier.'" None were issued except the "Fort Niagara" and "Queenston," *q. v.* Written for children, they combine fact and fiction in a mildly instructive and diverting fashion.

[WALKER, (*Hon.*) JESSE.] Queenston, a Tale of the Niagara Frontier. Buffalo: Steele's Press. 1845. 16mo. pp. 151.

Sometimes bound up with his "Fort Niagara," the "Queenston" being Part I, the "Fort Niagara" Part II.

WHEELER, CLARK. The Apiarian's Directory: or, practical remarks on the economical, advantageous, easy, and profitable management of bees: to accompany and explain the New York hive. By Clark Wheeler, Little Valley, Cattaraugus County, N. Y. [*Cuts, 3 bees.*] Buffalo: Press of Charles E. Young. 1845. 16mo. pp. 64. Folding sheet of diagrams.

[Y. M. A.] Ninth Annual Report of the Executive Committee, of the Young Men's Association, of the City of Buffalo. Buffalo: Printed by Clapp & M'Credie, Exchange Buildings, 4th story. 1845. 7vo. pp. 12.

### 1846.

Allyn's Exchange Tables, designed to furnish . . . calculations for computing Profit and Loss, Interest and Exchange. . . . By William G. Allyn. . . . Buffalo. Faxon & Co. 1846. Roy. 8vo. pp. 180.

Identical, except for imprint, with the work as issued in 1841.

Articles of Association of the Buffalo Copper Mine Company, entered into at Buffalo, April 27, 1846. Buffalo. Clapp & M'Credie, printers. 1846. 8vo. pp. 8.

BARTON, JAMES L. Lake Commerce. Letter to the Hon. Robert M'Clelland, chairman of the Committee on Commerce, in the United States' House of Representatives in relation to the value and importance of the commerce of the Great Western Lakes. By James L. Barton. Buffalo: Press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Commercial Advertiser office. 1846. 8vo. pp. 34. Folding table.



This reached at least a third edition, "with additional notes," in 1846.

Bristol's Free Almanac for 1846. . . . Buffalo. . . . 8vo. pp. 32.

Only copy seen with torn title-page.

[Buffalo Baptist Association.] Minutes of the thirty-first annual session of the Buffalo Baptist Association, held with the Baptist Church in Aurora, on the 8th, 9th and 10th of September, 1846. Buffalo: A. W. Wilgus, printer. 1846. 8vo. pp. 16.

The Minutes for 1847 were printed by Edwin Hough at Springville.

[Buffalo Orphan Asylum.] Tenth annual report of the Board of Trustees of the Buffalo Orphan Asylum. Submitted at the annual meeting, June 9, 1846. Buffalo: Press of C. E. Young. 1846. 12mo. pp. 12.

CLINTON, (*Hon.*) GEORGE W. Constitution and By-Laws of the Buffalo Horticultural Society together with the Reports of the Exhibitions during the season of 1845. To which is appended, the address at the Annual Fair by Hon. G. W. Clinton. Published by direction of the Society. Buffalo: Press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Commercial Advertiser Office. 1846. 8vo. pp. 16, [1], 13.

CLINTON, (*Hon.*) GEORGE W. An Address delivered before the Buffalo Horticultural Society at its first annual fair, Wednesday, September 3, 1845. By George W. Clinton. Published by direction of the Society. Buffalo: Press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Commercial Advertiser Office. 1846. 8vo. pp. 13.

[CLINTON, (*Hon.*) GEORGE W.] Sketches of Niagara Falls and River. By Cousin George. Illustrated with numerous engravings and correct maps. Buffalo: Published by Wm. B. & Chas. E. Peck. Exchange Buildings, Main-Street. 1846. Sq. 12mo. pp. 142, [1]. Six full-page views of Niagara on tinted paper, small cuts in text.

Written by George W. Clinton. Though published by the Pecks, the book was printed by Jewett, Thomas & Co.

Correspondence relative to the necessity and importance of establishing a Workhouse in the County of Erie. Published by order of the Board of Supervisors. Buffalo: Printed by Charles E. Young. 1846. 8vo. pp. 26.

HASKINS, R[OSWELL] W[ILLSON] (*L. L. M.*). An Exposition of a book published by D. Appleton & Co., called Hazlitt's Translation of Guizot's History of Civilization. By R. W. Haskins, A. M. [*Quot. 2 l.*] Buffalo: Steele's Press. 1846. 8vo. pp. 55.

HOUGHTON, JACOB. The Mineral Region of Lake Superior: comprising its early history, those parts of Dr. Douglass Houghton's Reports of 1841 and '42, relating to the Mineralogy of the District; . . . accompanied by the corrected map of the Mineral Agency Office, and a Chart of Lake Superior. By Jacob Houghton, Jr. Buffalo: Oliver G. Steele. 1846. 16mo. pp. 191. Two maps on one large folding sheet.





LORD, (*Rev.*) JOHN C. (*D. D.*). The Progress of Civilization and Government. A lecture delivered by the Rev. J. C. Lord, D. D., before the Young Men's Association of Buffalo, Dec. 14, 1846. 8vo. pp. 8.

A "*Commercial Advertiser—Extra.*"

MCLEOD, DONALD. History of Wisconsin, from its first discovery to the present period. Including a geological and topographical description of the territory with a correct catalogue of all its plants. By Donald McLeod, Buffalo. Steele's Press. 1846. 12mo. pp. xii-310.

Four plates of ancient mounds and monuments, lithographed by Hall & Mooney.

Proceedings of the G. C. of M. M. P. of U. S. A. Held at the City of Buffalo, July 20, 21, 23 & 24, 1846. [*Cover title only.*] 8vo. pp. 11.

In this convention of the Grand Council of the Mechanics' Mutual Protection Society of the United States, we have the forerunner of organized labor as at present known.

REYNOLDS, (*Dr.*) H. H. Observations on the best means of preserving the health, beauty and durability of the teeth. Also, the influence of decaying teeth upon the stomach, lungs and nervous system. By Dr. H. H. Reynolds, surgeon dentist, No. 159 Main-street, up stairs. Second edition. Buffalo—Faxon & Stevens. 1846. 16mo. pp. 48.

[Schools.] Ninth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, of the City Buffalo. For 1845. Filed February 1, 1846. Buffalo: Printed at Steele's Press. 1846. 8vo. pp. 16, [3].

O. G. Steele, Superintendent.

Steele's Book of Niagara Falls, ninth edition, carefully revised and improved. Illustrated by a new series of maps and plates. Buffalo: Oliver G. Steele. 1846. 16mo. pp. 95.

Folding frontispiece with two Niagara maps; four page engravings and one folding view, after Hennepin. The Preface says: "The 'Book' was prepared in 1834, by a gentleman who had resided for many years at the Falls. . . . Eight editions have been printed and sold, the present one being the ninth, and has been thoroughly and carefully corrected, and many portions of it re-written." Parsons' book is evidently regarded as the first edition of this work.

TODD, (*Rev.*) WILLIAM. A Sermon on Foreign Missions. By Rev. Wm. Todd, formerly missionary of the A. B. C. F. M. at Madura, Southern India. Buffalo: Robt. D. Foy, printer, Merchants' Exchange. 1840. 8vo. pp. 24.

[University of Buffalo.] Annual Circular of the Medical Department of the University of Buffalo, October, 1846. Buffalo: Jewett, Thomas & Co. Printers, Office of Buffalo Medical Journal. 1846. 8vo. pp. [11].

The first publication of the University of Buffalo, which was granted its charter by the Legislature of 1846. On the cover is a



cut of the "Medical College of the University of Buffalo," as it then was.

[Y. M. A.] Tenth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Young Men's Association, of the City of Buffalo. Buffalo: Clapp & M'Credie, printers. 1846. 8vo. pp. 32.

Includes a catalogue of books added to the library, 1845-6, and list of members.

### 1847.

BARTON, JAMES L. Commerce of the Lakes. A brief sketch of the Commerce of the great Northern and Western Lakes for a series of years; to which is added, an account of the business done through Buffalo on the Erie Canal, for the years 1845 and 1846; also, remarks as to the True Canal Policy of the State of New York. By James L. Barton. Buffalo: Press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Commercial Advertiser office. 1847. 8vo. pp. 80. Folding table.

BEARDSLEY, CHARLES E. The Victims of Tyranny. A Tale, by Chas. E. Beardsley, Esq. [*Quot.* 51.] In two volumes. Buffalo: Published by D. June, 275 Main Street. 1847. Press of C. E. Young. 16mo. pp. 250, 235.

This work, says the preface, "though assuming the character of a fiction, is founded on fact." It is a highly-wrought romance of the War of 1812, the scene being laid for the most part on the Niagara frontier.

[Buffalo Harbor.] Report of the Harbor Committee in relation to an Increase in Harbor Facilities at the City of Buffalo. Approved at a general meeting, held Aug. 21, 1847, and adopted by the Common Council, Aug. 24, 1847. Buffalo: Jewett, Thomas & Co., printers, Commercial Advertiser Buildings. 1847. 8vo. pp. 54. Map.

The map, which is usually lacking, is of great interest. It shows Buffalo and Black Rock harbors, and the proposed harbor and canal improvements which were approved at the public meeting of Aug. 21, 1847, and later by the Common Council. It shows, as proposed at that date, not only the ship canal running southerly from Buffalo River, which has since been built, but a ship canal 300 feet wide, running from the river northerly 9850 feet, intersecting the Erie Canal opposite Fort Porter; it shows the proposed extension of the Main and Hamburgh Canal, the shore line of Lake Erie, along the harbor front, as it was in 1816, and in 1847; and other data seldom to be found.

[Directory.] 1847 . . 1848. The Commercial Advertiser Directory for the City of Buffalo: containing a sketch of the rise and progress of the City, a list of the civil and military officers, societies, local and miscellaneous statistics, &c. With the names, residence and occupation of the business population, heads of families, &c.; appended to which is an advertising directory, containing the business cards of many of the prominent establishments in the city. Embellished with a correct map of the city, and a view of



Buffalo Harbor in 1825. Published by Jewett, Thomas & Co. and T. S. Cutting, Commercial Advertiser Office. 1847. 8vo. pp. iv., 67, 179, [advts.] 52.

The Duty of the Present Generation to evangelize the World: an Appeal from the missionaries at the Sandwich Islands to their friends in the United States. Second edition. Buffalo: Press of Charles Faxon. 1847. 12mo. pp. 75.

[Schools.] Tenth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools of the City of Buffalo, for 1846. Filed February 1, 1847. Buffalo: Press of Jewett, Thomas & Co., Commercial Advertiser Office. 1846. [sic, 1847.] 8vo. pp. 17, [2].

Daniel Bowen, Superintendent.

SMITH, (Rev.) S. R. The Old Paths. A discourse delivered in the Universalist Church, in Buffalo, N. Y. Sunday morning, Dec. 6, 1846. By S. R. Smith. Published by request. Buffalo: Andrew F. Lee, printer. 1847. 8vo. pp. 23.

TOWN, SALEM (LL.D.). The Fourth Reader: or Exercises in Reading and Speaking. Designed for the higher classes, in our public and private schools. [Revised edition.] By Salem Town, LL. D. Buffalo: Phinney & Co. Portland: Sanborn & Carter. [1847.] 12mo. pp. 408.

Stereotyped at Portland, Me., but either printed in Buffalo or given a Buffalo imprint on the Portland press, for Phinney & Co.

[Y. M. A.] Eleventh Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo. Buffalo: Steam press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Office of the Commercial Advertiser. 1847. 8vo. pp. 15.

## 1848.

Album of the Table Rock, Niagara Falls and sketches of the Falls and Scenery Adjacent. Buffalo: Steam press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. 1848. 12mo. pp. 85, 22.

The first of these volumes, which were issued, with slight variations, for several years.

BARTON, JAMES L. Address on the Early Reminiscences of Western New York and the Lake Region of Country. Delivered before the Young Men's Association of Buffalo, February 16, 1848. By James L. Barton. Buffalo: Steam press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Commercial Advertiser Office. 1848. 8vo. pp. 69. Slip of errata.

Breed's Western Almanac, for the Year of Our Lord 1848. . . . [Cut of globe, shipping, etc.] Calculated for the meridian of Buffalo. . . . By George R. Perkins, A. M., Professor of Mathematics in New York State Normal School. Buffalo: Published by F. W. Breed, 188 Main Street. 12mo. pp. 36.

Bristol's Sarsaparilla Almanac, for 1848: being bissextile or leap year:—and the 72nd-73rd year of American Independence. [Cut.]



Calculations by Horace Martin. Buffalo: printed for gratuitous circulation by C. C. Bristol, [1848]. 12mo. pp. 64.

Contains an illustrated "sketch of Indian warfare."

The Buffalo Almanac for the year 1848. Calculated for the meridian of Buffalo, N. Y. . . . Buffalo: Printed and published by Ansel Warren, at the Courier office, 190 Washington-st. 1848. 12mo. pp. 34.

[Buffalo Baptist Association.] Minutes of the thirty-third annual session of the Buffalo Baptist Association: held with the Baptist Church in Springville, on the thirteenth and fourteenth days of September, 1848. Buffalo: A. M. Clapp & Co.'s steam press. 1848. 8vo. pp. 12.

The Minutes for 1849 were printed by Edwin Hough at Springville.

[Buffalo Horticultural Society.] Annual Report of the Buffalo Horticultural Society for the Year 1847: to which is added the address of Lewis F. Allen, delivered before the Society September 30th, 1847: together with a list of officers, ladies' committees, list of contributors, etc. Published by direction of the society. Buffalo: Steam press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Commercial Advertiser Buildings. 1848. 8vo. pp. 40.

BURTIS, (*Rev.*) ARTHUR. "The Death of the Righteous." A sermon, preached at Tonawanda, July 29, 1848, at the funeral of Mrs. Rebecca Vandervoort. By Arthur Burtis. Buffalo: George Reese & Co., printers, 165 Main Street. 1848. 8vo. pp. 28.

By-Laws and Ordinances of the City of Buffalo. Published by order of the Common Council. Buffalo: A. M. Clapp & Co., Printers. 1848. 8vo. pp. 62.

[Directory.] 1848 . . 1849. Buffalo City Directory, containing a list of the civil and military officers, societies, local and miscellaneous statistics, &c., with the names, residence and occupation of the business population, heads of families, &c. Appended to which is an advertising department, containing the business cards of many of the prominent establishments in the city. Population in 1848, 40,521. By Thomas S. Cutting. Buffalo: G. Reese & Co., printers, 165 Main Street. 1848. 8vo. pp. 324, 72.

In this year Buffalo had two Directories by rival publishers. A feature of Cutting's was "Early Reminiscences of Buffalo, and the Navigation of Lake Erie," pp. 5-13.

[Directory.] 1848 . . 1849. The Commercial Advertiser Directory for the City of Buffalo: containing, in addition to the usual matter, a sketch of the Early History of Buffalo, by Hon. George W. Clinton. Embellished with a new and correct map. Jewett, Thomas & Co., publishers. Commercial Advertiser Buildings. 1848. 8vo. pp. 266, [2], (*advts.*) 24.

Judge Clinton's "Sketch of the History of Buffalo," pp. 9-35. graphic and valuable.

Dudley's Almanac for 1848. . . . Calculations by Geo. R. Perkins. A. M., Professor of Mathematics in the New York State Normal





School. Eighth edition. Buffalo, N. Y.: Published by T. J. Dudley, 105 Main Street. 12mo. pp. 30.

FOOTE, THOMAS M. *National Characteristics*. An address delivered before the literary societies of Hamilton College, July 24, 1848. By Thomas M. Foote. Published by request. Buffalo: Steam press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Commercial Advertiser Buildings. 1848. 8vo. pp. 38.

GILDERSLEEVE, (*Rev.*) B. *The Mediatorial Probation*. A review of a sermon delivered at the installation of Rev. Charles Rich, as pastor of the North Presbyterian Church, Buffalo, New York, by Rev. G. W. Heacock, pastor of La Fayette Street Church, Buffalo. . . . By the Rev. B. Gildersleeve, of Richmond, Va. Buffalo: Printed by Seaver and Foy, No. 190 Washington Street at the Courier office, 1848. 16mo. pp. 16.

[Guide.] 1848. *The Niagara Falls Guide*. With full instructions to direct the traveller to all the points of interest at the Falls and vicinity. With a map and engravings. Buffalo: Published by A. Burke. 1848. 16mo. pp. 100. Folding map of Niagara Falls, woodcuts.

HEACOCK, (*Rev.*) G. W. *The Mediatorial Probation*. A sermon delivered at the installation of Rev. Charles Rich, as pastor of the North Presbyterian Church, Buffalo, N. Y. By Rev. G. W. Heacock, pastor of La Fayette Street Church. Buffalo: Faxon's Press. 1848. 8vo. pp. 20.

HICKOK, (*Rev.*) LAURENS P. (*D. D.*). *A Wise Self-Reliance secures Success*. An Address delivered before the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo, December 27, 1847. By Rev. Laurens P. Hickok, D. D. Professor of Christian Theology in Auburn Seminary. Buffalo: Steam Press of Jewett, Thomas & Co., Commercial Advertiser Buildings. 1848. 8vo. pp. 24.

HOSMER, (*Rev.*) GEORGE W. *A Discourse on the life and character of John Quincy Adams delivered in the Unitarian Church, February 27, 1848*. By George W. Hosmer. Buffalo: Steam press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Commercial Advertiser Buildings. 1848. 8vo. pp. 24.

HYDE, (*Rev.*) JABEZ B[ACKUS]. *God in History: or the accomplishment of His purposes as declared by his servants the Prophets, exemplified in the Civil and Ecclesiastical History of the World*. By Rev. Jabez B. Hyde, first received missionary among the Seneca Indians. [*Quot. 2l.*] Buffalo: Steam press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Commercial Advertiser Buildings. 1848. 8vo. pp. 96.

Issued in parts of 32 pp. each. Three "series" were projected: "The first commencing with the first century, and going forward to A. D. 324, the overthrow of Polytheism. The second, from A. D. 324, to the close of the 8th century, the full revelation of the man of sin. The third, from the latter, to the Reformation." On the wrappers of the first three numbers the author stated: "The two first [series] are written. This is an experiment; and on the success of the first three numbers will determine whether



the work will proceed." No continuation of it is known to the compiler except the pamphlet containing Mr. Hyde's "Review of Professor Stuart's Commentary on Revelations," issued in 1849.

The Indian Reservation Sulphur Springs, near Buffalo, N. Y. With an account of its analysis, medicinal properties, and the diseases for which it is applicable. Together with directions for its use, and some remarks on mineral waters in general. Buffalo: Andrew F. Lee, printer. 1848. 32mo. pp. 30.

This was republished, with some additional matter, by Murray & Rockwell, Buffalo, 1860; 8vo. pp. 19.

LORD, (Rev.) JOHN C. (D. D.). A Funeral Discourse upon the death of George Sprague. By John C. Lord, D. D. Published by request. Buffalo: Steam press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Commercial Advertiser Buildings, 1848. 8vo. pp. 15.

LORD, (Rev.) JOHN C. (D. D.). A Great Man fallen in Israel. A sermon on the death of Rev. Norris Bull, D. D., at Lewiston, N. Y., December 9, 1847, by John C. Lord, D. D., Pastor of the First (Old School) Presbyterian Church of Buffalo. Buffalo: Printed by R. D. Foy & Co., Courier office. 1848. 8vo. pp. 22.

LORD, (Rev.) JOHN C. (D. D.). "The Valiant Man." A discourse on the death of the Hon. Samuel Wilkeson of Buffalo. By John C. Lord, D. D. Pastor of the First Old School Presbyterian Church of the City of Buffalo. Buffalo: Steam press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Commercial Advertiser Buildings. 1848. 8vo. pp. 46.

An appendix contains extracts on the subject of negro colonization, quoted from articles on slavery and the elevation of the blacks, written by Judge Wilkeson for the *Commercial Advertiser*.

MARSH, ROBERT. Seven Years of my Life, or a Narrative of a Patriot Exile. Who together with eighty-two American Citizens were illegally tried for rebellion in Upper Canada in 1838, and transported to Van Dieman's [*sic*] Land, comprising a true account of our outrageous treatment. . . . By Robert Marsh [Quot. 21.] Buffalo: Faxon & Stevens. 1848. 12mo. pp. 207. Woodcut, "Burning of the steam boat Caroline," op. p. 8.

For fac-simile of title-page and note on Robert Marsh, see "Bibliography of Upper Canada Rebellion," Buf. Hist. Soc. Pubs., Vol. V., pp. 469, 471, 472.

MORRON, A. (M. D.). An examination of the arguments against the existence of a Supreme Intelligence, founded upon the laws of Nature; the eternity of Matter; and the doctrine of Chance. In two lectures. Addressed to every Saint and Sinner into whose hands it may fall. By A. Morron, M. D. Buffalo: A. M. Clapp & Co.'s power press. 1848. 8vo. pp. 32.

[National Free Soil Convention.] Oliver Dyer's Phonographic Report of the Proceedings of the National Free Soil Convention at Buffalo, N. Y. August 9th and 10th, 1848. Copyright secured according to law. Published by G. H. Derby & Co. 164 Main



Street, Buffalo. . . . Steam press of Jewett, Thomas & Co.  
 . . . [1848.] 8vo. pp. 32.

[National Free Soil Convention.] Buffalo Republic . . . Extra.  
 Official Proceedings of the National Free Soil Convention, as-  
 sembled at Buffalo, N. Y., August 9th and 10th, 1848. 8vo. pp. 32.

Includes two pages of Free Soil Songs, "composed and sung  
 at the Buffalo Convention . . . by Messrs. Hutchinson, Jewell,  
 Bates and Foster, of Massachusetts." Here is a sample stanza  
 from the "Salt River Chorus":

"We've all come on to Buffalo,  
 To 'tend the great Convention,  
 To join the friends of liberty,  
 And stop the slave extension."

Proceedings of the New York State Fair and of the Pomological  
 Convention, held at Buffalo, Sept. 1848. Reported by Oliver  
 Dyer, phonographist. Published by Jewett, Thomas & Co. [Buf-  
 falo. 1848.] 8vo. pp. 48.

QUINTUS, J. De Hollander in Amerika. Leerwijze der Engelsche  
 Taal, door H. P.; ten dienste mijner landgenooten ter drukking  
 overgegeven door J. Quintus, onderwijzer in de Engelsche, Hol-  
 landsche en Fransche talen. Te Buffalo, N. Y., bij O. G. Steele,  
 206 Main Straat. 1848. 12mo. pp. 77, [3].

A Dutch-English reading book. Quintus was a teacher of  
 Dutch and French.

Revised Charter of the City of Buffalo, passed April 17, 1843. Pub-  
 lished by order of the Common Council: To which are added  
 the Laws and Ordinances. Buffalo: A. M. Clapp & Co.'s steam  
 press. 1848. 8vo. pp. 83.

SCHOOLCRAFT, HENRY R. The Indian in his Wigwam, or Character-  
 istics of the Red Race of America. From original notes and  
 manuscripts. By Henry R. Schoolcraft. [1841.] Buffalo:  
 Derby & Hewson, Publishers. Auburn—Derby, Miller & Co.  
 1848. 8vo. pp. 416.

[Schools.] Eleventh Annual Report of the Superintendent of Com-  
 mon Schools of the City of Buffalo: for 1847. Filed February 1,  
 1848. Buffalo: A. M. Clapp & Co. Printers, Morning Express  
 office. 1848. 8vo. pp. 16.

Elias S. Hawley, Superintendent.

SCHUYLER, (Rev.) MONTGOMERY. An Appeal to the Congregation of  
 St. John's Church, Buffalo, delivered Sunday Nov. 12, 1848. By  
 Montgomery Schuyler, rector. Buffalo: Steam press of Jewett,  
 Thomas & Co. Commercial Advertiser Buildings. 1848. 8vo.  
 pp. 15.

The appeal was for funds to complete payment of the church.

SMITH, (Rev.) S. R. Historical Sketches and Incidents, illustrative  
 of the establishment and progress of Universalism, in the State  
 of New York. Second series. By S. R. Smith. Buffalo: James  
 S. Leavitt, publisher. 1848. 16mo. pp. 246, [2].



Like its predecessor, published in 1843 (*q. v.*) this little volume is a valuable collection of facts relating to the growth of Universalism; less doctrinal or sectarian than historical, and with the earlier volume constitutes a work of decided value.

[SUNDERLAND, BYRON.] *Prelacy Discussed, or a Book for Batavians.* By B. Sunderland. [*Quot. 11.*] Buffalo: Press of C. Faxon. 1848. 8vo. pp. 184.

[Y. M. A.] *Twelfth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo.* Buffalo: A. M. Clapp & Co. Printers, Morning Express office. 1848. 8vo. pp. 37.

### 1849.

An Act to incorporate the Buffalo Water Works Company. Passed March 15, 1849. [Buffalo, 1849.] 8vo. pp. 8.

ALCOTT, WILLIAM A. *Familiar Letters to Young Men on various subjects.* Designed as a companion to the Young Man's Guide. By Wm. A. Alcott. Buffalo: Geo. H. Derby & Co. 1849.

[Almanac.] *The Franklin Almanac, for 1849.* [*Port. Benj. Franklin*] . . . Calculations by Samuel H. Wright. Buffalo: Published [*sic*] by Parmelee & Hadley. No. 119 Main-Street. 12mo. pp. 23, [9].

Parmelee & Hadley kept the "Buffalo Lamp Store," where they sold solar lamps, camphene lamps, girandoles and "a variety of patterns for burning Porter's composition burning fluid"; all of which is reminiscent of the days before kerosene.

Bible against Slaveholders. Slaves bought and sold! Read and examine. The Slavery question examined. By a Friend of Freedom, and the perpetuity of the Union. Buffalo: printed and sold at the Republic office. 1849. 8vo. pp. 8.

Breed's Western Almanac, for the Year of Our Lord 1849. . . . By George R. Perkins, A. M. Professor of Mathematics in New York State Normal School. Buffalo: Published by F. W. Breed. 188 Main Street. 12mo. pp. 36.

BRYAN, GEORGE J. *Life of George P. Barker, with sketches of some of his celebrated speeches; the proceedings of the Bar of Erie County on the occasion of his death; and the funeral sermon of John C. Lord, D. D.* By George J. Bryan. Buffalo: Oliver G. Steele. 1849. 12mo. pp. viii-215.

The Central Presbyterian Church, of the City of Buffalo: Containing a register of its officers and members, a brief notice of its history, the confession of faith, covenant and stated meetings of the church, etc., etc., together with the Shorter Catechism. Compiled by members of the Session. Buffalo: Press of Charles Faxon. 1849. 16mo. pp. 72.

In 1852, after the Society took possession of its new church building, a page descriptive of it was printed and inserted in copies of the above work, following p. 8.





COVENTRY, C. B. (*M. D.*) *Epidemic Cholera: Its History, Causes, Pathology and Treatment.* By C. B. Coventry, M. D. Buffalo: Geo. H. Derby & Co., publishers. 1849. 12mo. pp. 119.

Dr. Coventry was professor of physiology and medical jurisprudence in the University of Buffalo. When the cholera appeared in this country in 1831 he was appointed by the Common Council of Utica, where he resided, to visit Albany and New York to investigate the disease; and in the winter of '47-'48 he visited Europe with instructions from the medical faculties of the University of Buffalo and the college at Geneva, to more fully acquaint himself with its pathology, causes and treatment. The fruits of his study are embodied in this volume.

DAVIS, A. *Antiquities of America, the first inhabitants of Central America, and the Discovery of New England by the Northmen, five hundred years before Columbus.* . . . By A. Davis. . . . 21st edition, with important additions. Buffalo: Jewett, Thomas & Co., stereotypers and printers, 1849. 8vo. pp. 32.

It is probable that most, perhaps all of the previous editions were published elsewhere.

[Directory.] 1849 . . . 1850. *The Commercial Advertiser Directory for the City of Buffalo.* Embellished with a new and correct map. Buffalo: Jewett, Thomas & Co. Publishers, Commercial Advertiser Buildings. 1849. 8vo. pp. xiii-368.

HYDE, (*Rev.*) JABEZ B[ACKUS]. *God in History: or the accomplishment of His purposes, as declared by his servants the Prophets, exemplified in the civil and ecclesiastical history of the World, preceded by a review of Professor Stuart's commentary on Revelations.* By Rev. Jabez B. Hyde, First received missionary among the Seneca Indians. [*Quot. 2l.*] Buffalo: Printed by George Reese & Co. 159 Main Street. 1849. 8vo. pp. 104.

For comment on this work, *see ante* p. 274.

LORD, (*Rev.*) JOHN C. (*D. D.*) *A Funeral Discourse, delivered on the occasion of the death of Gen. George P. Barker, at the North Presbyterian Church, on the 31st day of January, 1848; by John C. Lord, D. D.* Buffalo: Oliver G. Steele. 1849. 12mo. pp. 215, 1.

MACAULEY, THOMAS BABINGTON. *Essays and Reviews; or Scenes and Character:* Being a selection of the most eloquent passages from the writings of Thomas Babington Macauley. Author of "History of England." New American Edition. Buffalo: George H. Derby and Co. 1849. 16mo. pp. 214.

[Schools.] *Ordinances for the regulation of the Public Schools, of the City of Buffalo.* Enacted April 27, 1839. Re-enacted and amended, January 23, 1849. Buffalo: A. M. Clapp & Co., printers. 1849. 8vo. pp. 16.

[Schools.] *Twelfth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Schools of the City of Buffalo, for 1848.* Filed February 1, 1849. 8vo. pp. 27, [1].

Although falling just out of the scope of the present list, it



may be noted that the annual report for 1849, published in 1850, is of exceptional historical value, as it contains views of six of the Public School buildings, as they appeared at that date. The second illustrated report was issued in 1856, with lithographic views of the Central School and some twenty of the district schools.

TURNER, O[RSAMUS]. *Pioneer History of the Holland Purchase of Western New York: Embracing some account of the ancient remains; a brief history of our immediate predecessors, the Confederated Iroquois, their system of government, wars, etc.—A synopsis of Colonial History: Some notices of the Border Wars of the Revolution: and a history of Pioneer Settlement under the auspices of the Holland Company; including Reminiscences of the War of 1812; the origin, progress and completion of the Erie Canal, etc., etc., etc.* By O. Turner. Buffalo: Published by Jewett, Thomas & Co.: Geo. H. Derby & Co. 1849. 8vo. pp. xvi, 666. Portraits, maps and views.

[University of Buffalo.] *Annual Announcement of the Medical Department of the University of Buffalo, June, 1849.* Buffalo: Steam press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Office of Buffalo Medical Journal. 1849. 8vo. pp. 16. Front.

The frontispiece is a most interesting "View of the Medical College, and the Hospital of the Sisters of Charity," the college building being that which stood at the southwest corner of Main and Virginia streets, torn down in 189—. It was built 1848-49.

WHITE, JAMES P. (*M. D.*) *Remarks on the construction of obstetrical forceps, with a description of an instrument employed by James P. White, M. D.* . . . [Buffalo, 1849.] 8vo. pp. 7. Cuts.

Reprint from *Buffalo Medical Journal*, May, 1849.

[Y. M. A.] *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Young Men's Association of the City of Buffalo.* Buffalo: Steam Press of Jewett, Thomas & Co. Commercial Advertiser Buildings. 1849. 8vo. pp. 40.



## APPENDIX B.

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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### DEDICATION OF THE BUILDING, SEPTEMBER 30, 1902.

The new building of the Buffalo Historical Society (described in the Appendix to Vol. V. of these *Publications*) was dedicated to its present uses on Tuesday evening, September 30, 1902. Despite a heavy rain the attendance was large. President Andrew Langdon being in Europe, Vice-President George A. Stringer presided and made the following address of welcome:

*Members of the Buffalo Historical Society, Ladies and Gentlemen:*

It is my high privilege and very agreeable duty this evening, to extend a most cordial welcome to you all on behalf of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society, in this new and beautiful building, and these attractive rooms.

We count your presence here as an augury of good. We read in it the strong assurance of your sympathy with us in our great work. We feel that we may depend on your cooperation in our plans for the future, which will be upon broader lines and with a wider scope than heretofore. Having thus enlisted your concurrence in our high endeavors for the common good, we regard it as a gracious earnest of the years to come.

Early in 1862—just forty years ago—in the second year of the great Civil War; this Society was founded by a few thoughtful, public-spirited, and highly-esteemed men in this community, among whom were the late Millard Fillmore, Lewis F. Allen, Orsamus H. Marshall, Rev. Dr. Hosmer, Edward S. Rich, Henry W. Rogers, Dr. Charles Winne, Dr. James P. White, George W. Clinton, William Dorsheimer, Albert L. Baker, Rev. Dr. Lord, Oliver G. Steele, Geo. A. Babcock, and some others, who believed that the records and relics of our history should be carefully preserved. The first in-



formal gathering was held at the law office of Marshall & Harvey, March 25th, and a committee appointed to report a plan of organization. On Tuesday evening, April 15, 1862, a second public meeting was held in the rooms of the Buffalo Medical Association, No. 7 South Division Street, at which time the constitution and by-laws, presented by the committee, were adopted. The first president of the Society was Mr. Fillmore, and the records show that the first meeting at which he was elected and presided as its official head was on the 20th of May in the year previously mentioned. Immediately after the organization William Dorsheimer offered the use of his office, No. 7 Court Street, as a place of meeting for the executive committee and of deposits for the books and papers of the Society.

From this small and comparatively humble beginning the Buffalo Historical Society has by slow stages reached its present proud position, with its valuable treasures housed in this magnificent building, the creation of a well-known Buffalo architect, and one of the finest of its class in the country.

We are the possessors of a library of some 12,000 volumes, which includes the Lord and Fillmore collections; also several thousand pamphlets, many of which are of rare value. In 1895 our library was registered with the University of the State of New York, thus enabling us to provide a library and publication fund, and thereby extending the sphere of our influence.

We have a gallery of portraits, as well as a large collection of photographs of uncommon interest, inasmuch as they largely represent many of the builders and makers of this fair city, through whose united efforts its foundations were laid deep and strong. To this collection additions by gift are constantly being made.

As you pass through our rooms this evening I would especially direct your attention to the beautiful Lincoln Memorial room which is in itself an object lesson; also, just outside, the collection of Civil War relics presented by the Grand Army Posts of Buffalo several years ago. They are precious mementoes of that fearful struggle which deluged the land with blood; historic objects for our youth especially to view and study, valued reminders through the years to come of the sacrifices which were made by our volunteers for the common good of our common country.

Our coin and medal collection—for the most part the gift of the late Dr. James—is of very great and increasing value, and worthy of all the study one can give to it. Our museum is rich in its countless treasures of a past time, and the entire evening would be all too short were I to particularize its features in detail, there is so much of interest on every hand.

It may not be amiss, however, for me to allude in passing to two widely diverse collections which attract much attention, one being the fine exhibit of Egyptian antiquities presented by the late Dr. Joseph C. Greene, a member of our Board of Managers at the time of his death, and an ex-president of the Society, and the other, to our extremely valuable display of Indian relics, mementoes of a once powerful people who are now fast fading away.

Another branch of our work which has been quietly carried on and which may be unknown to many of you is that of vital statistics. From the year 1811 up to 1882, covering a period of nearly three-





quarters of a century, every published record of death or of marriage has been entered in volumes specially prepared for that purpose. I need hardly remind the legal fraternity of the immense value such a record may be to them as well as to others, and we wish to make its existence widely known.

This Society will not round its first half-century for a full decade to come. Meantime we shall strive to push our work along historical, genealogical and educational lines. Our single aim is your advantage. The sufficient reward for our most zealous efforts will be your approval. In this connection it gives me pleasure to announce, that with the concurrence of a majority of the Board of Management this building will be opened on Sunday afternoon, October 5th, and every Sunday afternoon thereafter until further notice, from two until five o'clock, during which time a short, instructive talk will be given, which will be an incentive to the young, and full of suggestion to those of maturer years.

My hearers, we hold as a sacred trust to be zealously guarded the treasured memories of the Past, a trust to be handed down to those who shall come after us. The life of a city is in the past and in the future. The record of her sons and daughters is in our keeping. The vigorous minds, the skilful hands, the generous hearts; the wisdom, the integrity, the self-sacrifice, that have advanced the city's interests would be well nigh forgotten were it not for this Historical Society. We should well nigh forget, indeed, that we had a history; we should almost lose the sense of our identity. Therefore, it is that we would plead for a more lively and awakened interest in this Society; for a far larger membership; for generous gifts, for a greater civic pride. Thus it will become possible to aid the Buffalo Historical Society in attaining such an eminence that it shall stand unrivalled in the State.

My friends, if there be anywhere here below the element of perpetuity, it is here, and in such a place as this, where the memory of what past generations have said or accomplished is ever before us; where the inspiration of their lives and actions is a continual incentive to us who are in the strenuous activities of the present, but who, ere many years shall have passed, will "be numbered among the silent host, the great majority." Enshrined within these walls they will have enduring fame, a memory perpetual.

In closing, permit me again to extend to you all a hearty and most cordial welcome to this noble building and the objects to which it is devoted, and to congratulate you, as well as ourselves, upon the bright prospect of increased usefulness which lies open before this Society, so that in future days we may look back upon this night with the utmost pleasure and satisfaction.

Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society, addressed the audience on "The Functions of an Historical Society." It is regretted that his scholarly paper is not available for publication. The next speaker was the Hon. Daniel N. Lockwood, chairman of the New York State Board of Managers for the Pan-American Exposition, whose theme was "The Buffalo Historical Society and the State of New York." Mr. Lockwood said:



*Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:*

Your committee having in charge the dedication of this building to the Buffalo Historical Society, very kindly requested me, as the President of the Board of Managers of the State of New York to the Pan-American Exposition and under whose charge and supervision this beautiful building was erected, to give a brief history of its construction and its use during our occupancy.

When it became an assured fact that the citizens of Buffalo, during the summer of 1901, would give an exposition of the mechanical, industrial and educational development of this and the South and North American countries, the Empire State at once took up the work, determined to stand second to no other State or country. The Legislature of the State of New York, by the act of March 1, 1899, appropriated the sum of \$300,000, \$50,000 of which was to be used in the erection of a building for the use of the citizens of New York during the Pan-American Exposition, also authorizing the Governor to appoint a board of nine managers to build the building and conduct and manage the exhibits on behalf of the State. This act also contained a clause prohibiting the Board of Managers from contracting or expending any part of said appropriation until there had been paid into the Treasury of the Pan-American Exposition Company by its stockholders, the sum of \$800,000 in cash. I mention this last clause that it may be fully understood why this building was not fully completed upon the opening of the Exposition, May 1, 1901.

During the summer of 1899, the suggestion was made by some of our citizens that it would be a proper thing to have the building thus to be erected by the State, a permanent structure, and that after the close of the Exposition it should be transferred to a permanent ownership. The officers and members of the Buffalo Historical Society desired a permanent home and they at once went to work with energy and a fixed purpose to bring about such a result and with the aid of an enlightened public sentiment—largely created by them—secured from the Legislature the amended act of March 14, 1900, by which \$100,000 instead of \$50,000 was to be used in the erection of the building, and by the same act the City of Buffalo was directed to pay over to the State Treasurer the sum of \$25,000 to be used for such building; also the Buffalo Historical Society was authorized to take from its overflowing treasury the sum of \$25,000 and pay the same to the State Treasurer, thus giving to the New York State Board of Managers the sum of \$150,000 with which to erect a permanent building upon the park lands adjacent to the Exposition grounds, which building when erected, should be for the exclusive use of the State during the Exposition, and upon the close of the Exposition should be transferred to the Buffalo Historical Society for its exclusive use and permanent home.

The Board of Managers, as soon as the law had been complied with by the Pan-American Exposition Company, met at Albany and perfected their organization. This was on the 7th day of March, 1900. The Board of Park Commissioners thereafter promptly designated the site upon which the building should be erected. The Board of Managers at once called upon the leading architects of the State for plans. These were duly received and then what little trouble we had, commenced. The honorable gentlemen composing the Park



Board waited upon us and suggested (to put it mildly)—that as the building was to stand upon park lands, it was their right to select the plans for the building. The Board of Managers showed them all the plans and they made their selection. The Historical Society politely, but firmly, insisted that as the building would be theirs for all time as soon as the Exposition was over, that they should select the plans.\* They saw them all and made their selection. The Board of Managers being required by law to select and approve of a plan for the building, made their selection, and strange to say, three different plans had been selected. Under these conditions the Board of Managers decided to select a well-known and distinguished architect of New York City, send him the three plans selected and without giving him any information of the selections that had been made or the names of any of the architects, let him decide which in fact was the best plan. This course was followed and the plan of one of Buffalo's competing architects was selected, that of Mr. George Cary. It is but just to say that to his architectural genius and skill the citizens of Buffalo in general and the Buffalo Historical Society, are indebted for this beautiful building. Grand and substantial in all its architectural lines and proportions, it will stand here for all time as a monument to his intelligence and fidelity, as well as a reminder of the wonderful, beautiful and instructive Pan-American Exposition of 1901.

As soon as the specifications could be prepared, bids were asked for for its construction and on the receipt of the bids, it was found, much to our sorrow and disappointment as well as to yours, that it could not be built of marble for the sum of \$150,000, but to be built for that sum must be constructed either of brick or limestone. This was the full amount available in the hands of the State Board of Managers for the construction of the building. This fact was reported to the Historical Society at once and to the great credit, praise and honor of its officers and members, they promptly unlocked their big safe and directed the State Board of Managers to go ahead at once and build of marble and that the difference between brick and marble they would assume and pay. The contract was thereupon and on the 2nd day of July, 1900, made with Messrs. Charles Berwick's Sons for the construction of the building. Their work was well done; the material was the best of its kind and the workmanship of the highest standard. There were no strikes and no extra charges. Such is the history of the construction of the building. The building was substantially completed and opened to the public in June.

It was formally turned over to the Pan-American Exposition Company on the 6th day of August, 1901, and from that day to the close of the Exposition, it was an open house, dispensing hospitality to all who came within its doors. Thousands came every day to examine and admire it. Societies and organizations from all over the country held their meetings in this hall daily. Distinguished men and women within these walls have been welcomed to the hospitality

\* Mr. Lockwood, as his audience no doubt understood at the time, was indulging in a pleasantry. The Historical Society Board were invited to signify their preference as to the plans, and did so; but insistence was obviously beyond their prerogative.



of the State of New York. Governors, their wives and their friends, representatives from Canada, South and North America and from Europe have been within these walls as the guests of the State of New York, and here on the 5th day of September, 1901, the State of New York, through its Board of Managers, had the honor and pleasure of giving a formal luncheon to the President of the United States, foreign Ambassadors, members of the Cabinet, senators and many other distinguished men. It was the one function that made this building thereafter the objective point of every visitor to the Exposition. It was the last formal luncheon attended by the President of the United States. The pleasure of that day was forever blotted out by the awful crime of the tomorrow. It made the building historical. William McKinley, the honored and beloved President of the United States, in full vigor of his manhood, the man who had gone step by step from the ranks to the highest and proudest position in the world, whose life, always pure, honorable and patriotic, full of courage and hope, animated with the single purpose of his Country's best welfare, was marked for the bullet of the cowardly assassin. He died as he had lived, full of love, full of kindness, full of courage and without fear. He was our most honored guest. Here the name of William McKinley must ever stand first, and of him, his life and his death, you can always say in the words of the poet:

"To live with fame the gods allow to many; but to die with equal lustre is a blessing Heaven selects from all her choicest boons of fate, and with a sparing hand on few bestows."

An interesting feature of the evening's exercises was the unveiling of the statue of Abraham Lincoln, a gift to the Society from the Lincoln Birthday Association.\* The audience repaired to the central court, where the statue stands. Mr. Joseph P. Dudley, president of the Lincoln Birthday Association, made a brief address of presentation. The flag which draped the statue was withdrawn by Miss Florence Francis (a relative of Julius E. Francis, founder of the Association), to the strains of "America," by the orchestra. Senator Henry W. Hill made the address of acceptance in behalf of the Historical Society. Mr. Hill said:

*Vice-President Stringer, Major Dudley, President of the Lincoln Birthday Association, Ladies and Gentlemen:*

In behalf of the Buffalo Historical Society, I am authorized to accept this bronze statue of Abraham Lincoln and the Memorial Collection of the late Julius E. Francis, presented by you, Major Dudley, in behalf of the Lincoln Birthday Association to this Society for its custody and preservation. In doing so, I cannot refrain from alluding to the services which Mr. Francis and your Association have rendered to perpetuate in memory the exemplary life and sublimely patriotic struggle of Abraham Lincoln to preserve the Union.

Mr. Francis may not have been a disciple of Carlyle, who affirmed

\* For description and illustration of the statue, see Vol. V., *Buffalo Historical Society Publications*.





that hero-worship is the cornerstone of all society; yet, in his devotion, he spared neither time nor treasure to exalt the life and heroic services of Abraham Lincoln. Of the forty years he was engaged in pharmacy in this city, the latter half of that time was largely occupied by him in collecting relics of the Civil War, in securing autographs of its soldiers and sailors with their military record, in arranging and holding Lincoln Birthday anniversary exercises, and building up, inspiring and equipping an association that would continue his work after him. He visited Gettysburg and other battlefields, attended encampments of Civil War veterans and other National assemblages, and inspected public and departmental archives at Washington. In 1873, Mr. Francis and fifty other prominent citizens of Buffalo, representing all the states and territories of the Union, memorialized the 43rd Congress to make February 12th a legal holiday. This was supplemented by an alternate memorial, signed by fifty young men in the public schools of Buffalo, between the ages of fourteen and nineteen years, also representing the various states and territories. We are pleased that many of these gentlemen are present on this occasion and that they have lived to see February 12th made a legal holiday.

At the first Lincoln Birthday celebration held at St. James Hall in this city on February 12, 1874, Hon. N. K. Hall presided and our esteemed historian, J. N. Larned, delivered the address, and the exercises consisted also of readings, poems, patriotic music and the distribution of sixty thousand beautifully engraved cards to the pupils in the public schools of this city, all at the expense of Mr. Francis. Twenty thousand dollars were expended by Mr. Francis in his twenty years' service of devotion.

In 1877 he incorporated the Lincoln Birthday Association, and its first trustees were such well-known men as Pascal P. Pratt, Frederick L. Danforth, J. R. Brownell, Joseph P. Dudley, Orrin P. Ramsdell, Julius E. Francis, William C. Francis, S. Cary Adams and George Meacham. The present officers and trustees are Major Joseph P. Dudley, president; G. Barrett Rich, vice-president; Frederick W. Danforth, secretary and treasurer; Hon. James Ash, Frank L. Danforth, C. Townsend Wilson, William E. Danforth, George C. Meacham and Guilford R. Francis. These gentlemen and others, who from time to time have comprised the Lincoln Birthday Association, for a quarter of a century, have freely given their time and attention to its affairs. This involved a supervisory control of the valuable historic memorial collections, the administration of the trust funds bequeathed by Mr. Francis and the distribution of memorial literature, commemorative of the public services of President Lincoln.

Before this Society had made plans for its permanent home, President Andrew Langdon had conferred with your trustees in relation to the assumption on the part of this Society, of the custody of the Francis Memorial Collection and the execution of the trust provisions of Mr. Francis' will. When it was decided to erect this fire-proof building for the ultimate uses of the Buffalo Historical Society, your trustees, in accordance with the wishes of Mr. Francis, expressed in his will, that "a room be constructed in a fire-proof building for the preservation of his memorial collection," suggested



that this building be so planned as to provide such a room. President Andrew Langdon laid the matter before the Board of Managers of this Society, who were unanimously in favor of the suggestion. Such a room has been provided on the second floor of the building, and is to be known as the Lincoln Memorial Room. In addition to this, your trustees offered the further suggestion, that the main central hall of this building be so planned as to admit of the placing therein of a bronze statue of Mr. Lincoln, to be procured out of the trust funds left by Mr. Francis and the residue of such funds to be given to the Buffalo Historical Society in consideration of its providing such memorial room and assuming the custody of the memorial collection and such bronze statue, in perpetuity.

A committee on the part of your Association, consisting of Major Dudley, G. Barrett Rich, and Mr. Frederick W. Danforth, was appointed to confer with a committee on the part of the Buffalo Historical Society, consisting of President Langdon, whose esthetic taste and wide knowledge of the works of art especially fitted him to serve as such a committee, Mr. Frank H. Severance, secretary of the Buffalo Historical Society, and myself. It is but fair to say that Mr. Danforth and Mr. Langdon performed the largest part of the work of the joint committee. They secured the services of the well-known sculptor, Charles H. Niehaus, who had designed the statue of Mr. Lincoln, at Muskegon, Michigan, of which this statue is a replica, except in some of its details. It was cast by the Gorham Manufacturing Company of Providence, and is regarded by critics as a work of art. It represents Mr. Lincoln in a sitting posture, with legs crossed and document in hand, looking directly into the unknown future, as though he were meditating upon what grounds under the Constitution to justify the Emancipation Proclamation. It will also suggest many other trying moments in his eventful life. It is needless to say that the memory of his life work could not be more enduringly perpetuated. The present and future generations will be uplifted, as they reflect upon the noble life, symbolized in this imposing statue.

The memorial collection, which you have presented and which may be seen in the Lincoln Memorial Room, is of great historic value. The elaborately inlaid case is made of pieces of wood taken from Faneuil Hall, Independence Hall, the Charter oak, the frigate "Constitution," the Old South Church and other historic temples, dedicated to civil and religious liberty. The Soldiers' and Sailors' case contains seventy-six battlefield trophies and upwards of ten thousand autographs of soldiers and sailors who fought in the Civil War, "with their rank, regiment, date of enlistment and discharge, including the battles in which they were engaged." In addition to these are many other autographs, illustrated envelopes used during the war, and other historic papers. In presenting these to the Buffalo Historical Society, with the assurance that they will be preserved in perpetuity, we believe that the trustees of your Association have fully executed the trust provisions of Mr. Francis' will. In accepting them, the managers of the Buffalo Historical Society undervalue neither their historic worth, nor the lofty patriotism which their donor intended that they would inculcate.

This marble building, with its stately Doric columns, its spacious halls and classic outlines, overlooking an inland lake with its en-



virens of surpassing beauty, is a fitting repository for such a monument, as this memorial collection and superb statue constitute, to the greatest American of his generation. School children in scores and people of this and other states will come here to read again the thrilling story of the life of their beloved President. What a life that was! Cradled in a Kentucky cabin, inured to all the deprivations and hardships of pioneer life, without the advantages of schooling or money, this child of the prairies, this self-trained lawyer of the plains, became the matchless champion of human freedom. While Congresses disputed and Cabinets wrangled, he, in contesting the senatorship with Douglas, fully realizing the irreconcilability between the sentiments of the people at the North and at the South on the slavery question and also realizing the immanence of the conflict that might disrupt the Union, declared that "a house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free." Even though the conflict were averted by the recognition of slavery, still that would not avail, for this Government, could not permanently endure on such a basis. He had a profound conception of the fundamental principles of the Declaration of Independence. "Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" were not only "inalienable rights," bestowed by the Creator upon His creatures, but living principles, which the Supreme Court, the Congress and the President of the United States might not disregard. These were eternal, while kingdoms, principalities and powers were temporal. In his application of these principles to the exigencies of the times, Mr. Lincoln not only completely refuted the doctrine of the Dred Scott decision, but also exhibited qualities of the loftiest statesmanship and became the recognized leader of the people at the North. His power of statement was unsurpassed; his logical argument was resistless; his comprehension of the momentous questions at issue was remarkable. His great heart throbbed in sympathy with the suffering and down-trodden colored race at the South. He knew their limitations, but he felt that the Creator had bestowed upon them these inalienable rights, of which they might not lawfully be deprived. This position he maintained with unflinching steadfastness. He spoke in many eastern states and was attended with large, enthusiastic audiences and made a profound impression wherever he appeared.

In commenting on his Cooper Institute speech, the *New York Tribune* said: "Mr. Lincoln is one of nature's orators, using his rare powers solely to elucidate and convince, though their inevitable effect is to delight and electrify as well. We present a very full and accurate report of this speech, yet the tones, the gestures, the kindling eye, and the mirth-provoking look, defy the reporter's skill. The vast assemblage frequently rang with cheers and shouts of applause, which were prolonged and intensified at the close. No man ever before made such an impression on his first appeal to a New York audience."

People at the North were electrified. Mr. Lincoln became the logical candidate of the Republicans for the Presidency in 1860. Party and sectional strife threatened to disrupt the Union. The South knew no bounds to their demands for the extension of slavery; the North was a wall of adamant against such extension. The conflict was inevitable. Still in the presence of such civil commotion,



which shook the Nation to its foundation, Mr. Lincoln, with the vision of a seer, in closing his first inaugural address on March 4, 1861, made use of these prophetic words: "The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature." He saw beyond the smoke of battle a reunited nation. He understood the temper of the people at the North as well as at the South. He knew the genius of our Republican institutions and had supreme faith in their fitness for government "of the people, by the people and for the people."

He spent many sleepless vigils alone in brooding over the outcome of various battles of the Civil War, still he did not lose faith in our civil institutions and in the ultimate success of our armies. He left nothing undone that would tend to restore this country to a condition of peace. He wielded the extraordinary powers vested in the Executive under the Constitution more freely than they had ever been exercised before to uphold and strengthen the sovereign powers of the Nation. He justified his Emancipation Proclamation, as a war measure that would weaken the enemy and strengthen the Union forces. His generous and sympathetic nature was proverbial and expressed itself in many ways and in such words as "with malice toward none; with charity for all," found in his second inaugural. He was the revered President. General W. T. Sherman said that "Lincoln was the purest, the most generous and the most magnanimous of men." He loved his country whose freedom was his inspiration. His Gettysburg speech, like the funeral oration of Pericles, is the embodiment of true patriotism.

It has been said that "Abraham Lincoln was the first American to reach the lonely heights of immortal fame."

"He lives in endless fame  
All honor to his patriot name."

This marble building may crumble, this bronze statue may wear away, but the name and deeds of Abraham Lincoln will not perish from the earth.

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## FORTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING.

At the annual meeting, January 13, 1903, Mr. Ogden P. Letchworth was elected a member of the Board of Managers for the four years ending January, 1907, to succeed Mr. George S. Hazard, made honorary life member of the Board. Messrs. Andrew Langdon, Frank H. Severance, George A. Stringer and James Sweeney were reelected for the term ending January, 1907. The annual reports of the officers were presented to the Society at a meeting held on the evening of January 17th. President Langdon occupied the chair. A pleasant feature of the programme was the singing by Miss Langdon, accompanied at the piano by Mrs. F. Davidson. Moses Shongo gave





cornet selections, with accompaniment by his daughter, Miss Maud Shongo. The attendance was large. President Langdon delivered the annual address. He said:

*Ladies and Gentlemen:*

We come together for the forty-first annual meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society. This is its first annual meeting in a building all our own and worthy of the collections here preserved. This building is not new to most of you; already it is like an old friend, for we first knew of its beauty during the Pan-American days when it was the New York State building. Today it stands as the only permanent memorial saved from the wreck and ruins of the City of Light.

My first annual address as president of this Society was given at the thirty-third annual meeting, January 8, 1895, held in the chambers of the Society on the third floor of the Buffalo Library building, reached only by tiresome climbing of stairs. I referred then to the day when the Buffalo Historical Society would have "a substantial fire-proof home of its own." Let me quote from that address: "That such a house is needed today"—that, remember, was eight years ago—"for the proper display and safekeeping of our valuable collections is fully attested by their crowded condition and still more by the treasures that cannot be seen for want of a suitable place for their display. Such a building should be located not as the present one is, amid the smoke, dirt and noise, with constant danger of fire, in the business district; but well out in an easily accessible, quiet neighborhood, with plenty of light and air." One of the leading papers of the city referred to my idea as "Mr. Langdon's dream"; another dwelt upon the "icy desolation" of the park site suggested. Tonight much of that dream is realized in blocks of solid marble. Winter is pretty well upon us now, and we have not experienced the icy desolation except as we find it just over the fence, amid the ruins of the Exposition. We were never less isolated. Our removal has brought us new members and made many new friends.

The story of this building you already know; it is told in the volume recently issued by this Society. In the Grand Hall, open to the skylights above, we have a suggestion of the beautiful Ariana Museum at Geneva in Switzerland. Our park surroundings for such a building have many notable precedents.

Eight years ago Judge James Murdock Smith asked me to come to see him at his home. There he told me that he wished to do something for the Historical Society and asked me what use the Society would make of his proposed gift. I suggested that it be used as the nucleus of a building fund, principal and interest to be used only for that purpose. This was done; and the contribution of five thousand dollars by Judge Smith was the first step toward the realization of our building project. In special recognition of his gift a new class of membership, called "Patrons," was created and any one contributing \$2500 is eligible for such membership. The name of the Hon. James M. Smith stands as that of our first—and as yet our only—"Patron." Out of his first gift, supplemented not only with money, but with the untiring efforts of other friends of the Society, has come the building as it stands today, erected at a cost of nearly \$200,000. It would



take too long to relate in detail the whole story of our building project. But the members of this Society, and the community at large, must see in the present consummation a proof of the wisdom of our early plans. We desired a park site. A neighboring institution, the Albright Gallery for the Academy of Fine Arts, now stands on the site which was the Society's original choice; and already the community begins to realize that in this group of public institutions—for the future home of the Society of Natural Sciences will be near by—is to be developed the city's most academic center. When our plans for a home in the Park were checked, a new opportunity was offered by the Exposition project. It developed into the proposition that it would be wiser for the State to contribute towards a permanent building than to lavish the public money on a structure that would vanish when the great fair was over. The merger of state, city and society funds in this project was stubbornly opposed; and we owe it to the persistence and tact and logic of many devoted friends, but especially to the Hon. Henry W. Hill and the Hon. Wilson S. Bissell, that this wise and economical plan was adopted. Originally the Historical Society was to contribute \$25,000, but when later it was found that the building could not be erected according to the plans decided upon so as to come within the cost limit of \$150,000; when the Board of Commissioners for the State of New York found themselves pretty well in a corner where it was hard for them to turn and they found that their plans would have to be changed entirely; that the erection of the building, for which there was little enough time as it was, would have to be still further delayed; then an appeal to the Historical Society was made and the response was immediate and cheerful: the Society contributed \$20,000 additional, thus enabling the Commissioners to carry forward the work without delay. The Society had reason to believe that this additional \$20,000 would be made good by the State: the Commissioners turned back into the State Treasury \$127,000 out of the \$300,000 appropriated. Most of the Commissioners were in favor of reimbursement; one, at least, was not. We never obtained the \$20,000. More than this, when we came to take possession of the building we found that certain changes in the general plan would be beneficial and suggested that such changes and several matters of repair, due wholly to the use and abuse of the building during the Exposition, be cared for out of the State money. It seemed but right that the building should be put into tenable shape for the newcomers. Even this we were not able to secure. So we had to turn again to our well-nigh depleted treasury and take from it funds needed for the carrying on of our regular work and apply them to the work of putting the building into condition for our occupancy.

On the other hand, we have a moderate income from the City of Buffalo each year for a maintenance fund. Under the act of legislation secured in 1897 it is mandatory upon the City of Buffalo each year to appropriate for the maintenance of the Society and the care of its collections at least \$5000; in addition we receive the cost of heating and lighting. Especially pleasant are the words "in perpetuity" in connection with this annual appropriation, thus providing a certain measure of the expenses incident to the proper management of the institution for the best good of the members and public gen-



erally for all years to come. This provision of the law has put the Historical Society on a substantial foundation and guarantees its permanence. The measure of its growth and increase in usefulness to the community must continue to depend upon other sources of income. But even if our resources are badly depleted, we have the comforting consciousness of being out of debt. We begin the new year owing no man a dollar, as shown by the report of the treasurer.

It is a pleasure to me personally to speak of some of the more important gifts of the year. It has been a year notable for the number and value received. This is a natural sequence of our removal to more ample and better quarters than we had before occupied. Gifts of any historical character and works of art can now suitably be exhibited and kept with guarantee of safety from fire or pillage. We can take care of them better than ever before. The building is a depository which should enlist the interest and appeal to the taste and pride of every family in Buffalo.

First in the list entitled to special acknowledgment is the bronze statue of Abraham Lincoln, the gift of the Lincoln Birthday Association. When Julius C. Francis was alive, he was unusually loyal in his devotion to the memory of our martyred President, and spent both money and effort to have Lincoln's birthday made a National holiday; when Mr. Francis died he left to the Lincoln Birthday Association, which he himself founded, certain money in trust, giving instructions in his will for the maintenance of exercises commemorative of this birthday. This money, principal and accumulating interest, lay unused for a number of years. One day, while I was looking into another matter, I came across the provisions of the Francis will and it occurred to me that a fine statue of Lincoln, dedicated by the Lincoln Birthday Association, would be entirely in keeping with the spirit of the will of Mr. Francis. Several of us, members of both the Lincoln Birthday Association and the Buffalo Historical Society, talked over the matter informally, later more in detail and to more serious intent, and still later a joint committee from the two societies took the whole matter under careful consideration. For some time there was great doubt of any accomplishment. It took a good deal of persistence to bring all parties to agreement; but as a result of continued effort on the part of the members of this joint committee the Lincoln Birthday Association, under an agreement especially drawn, has become merged with the Buffalo Historical Society. The funds accumulated have been put into the magnificent statue that forms the striking feature of our Grand Hall; this is the conception of the sculptor Niehaus and the casting in bronze was done at the foundry of the Gorham Company, a splendid combination of genius in conception and art in execution. The pedestal of black marble came as a gift from the Lautz Company, to whom the members alike of this Society and of the Lincoln Birthday Association are indebted.

Another pedestal that is of note, stands just at the left of the entrance to the Grand Hall. Upon it stands an admirable bust of George Washington, of the finest Carrara marble, done by Pugi, a celebrated artist in Florence, Italy.\* But it is of the pedestal I wish to speak. It was the gift of William Crawford. Some time ago Mr. Crawford, who is a life member of this Society, secured the contract

\* One of President Langdon's numerous gifts to the Society.



to erect over the grave of Mary, the mother of Washington, at Fredericksburg, Va., a new monument. The tomb standing there at the time was removed and two of its old pillars were brought to Buffalo. I suggested to Mr. Crawford the idea of using a portion of one to form a pedestal for a bust of George Washington. The idea was pleasing to him and he carried it out.

Having brought before your thought two of the greatest men of all ages, the two greatest Americans, let me suggest the propriety of setting apart in this building two rooms, one to be known as the Lincoln Room, one as the Washington Room. Already this plan has been carried out, in part. On the floor above, the northwestern room has been given over to the Lincoln collections left by Mr. Francis, with additions by other friends. The northeastern room, now used for the Lord and the Fillmore libraries, will become the Washington Room just as soon as we have enough Washington material to make a fair beginning. We have now a number of portraits, autograph letters, and other material. Within a few weeks we have received from Mr. George H. Grosvenor, through the kind offices of his mother, an old resident of Buffalo, an early and excellent oil portrait of Washington. On the platform this evening we have relics that are most appropriate for such a Washington Room. This gavel was made from a tree which grew in the ruins of the house in which Washington was born; it was burned in 1835. This table is one that once belonged to General Knox, who, you will remember, was present at the time of the surrender of General Cornwallis to General Washington. But even more closely associated with that memorable event is this chair, known as the Cornwallis chair, and which was a part of the furniture of the Moore house when the commissioners for Cornwallis signed the articles of surrender there. For this historic chair we are indebted to Mr. Jesse Peterson of Lockport, who has generously presented it to the Society. With the chair Mr. Peterson has sent us the detailed and accepted history of its descent from the household of Daniel and Mary Moore, who came to Virginia long before the Revolution and built there the famous Moore house. Other Washington material, including several very valuable articles now promised, will enable us soon to set apart the second room; and we trust that our friends will remember us generously.

Through the generosity of the Messrs. Steinway & Co. of New York City and the friendly interest in our behalf of Mr. Robert Denton,\* another life member of this Society, we have received as a permanent possession the piano which you have heard already this evening. It is of the highest quality of excellence as a musical instrument, and in its construction is exceptionally artistic. The case is of mahogany, carved in classic style, with bronze mountings and bronze electric light fixtures. On the top cover are the arms of the State of New York.

Mr. William Cottier has given us his splendid collection of Indian articles of every description, the result of many years of collecting. This collection represents most of the Western tribes in their workmanship, beads, basketry, blankets, pipes, masks, weapons and utensils. The beadwork is especially choice and valuable. For the proper display of his collection, Mr. Cottier has provided a hand-

\* Died July 23, 1903.





some oak case. This collection, together with the Scoville collection, gives this Society splendid facilities for assisting those who are making a study of the Indians of the West. Our Six Nations collection, also, is a good beginning.

I must pass over many recent gifts of interest and value, to speak of the large painting now temporarily placed in the Grand Hall.\* The scene depicted is one of the most famous in the early history of this region—the blessing of the cross at Fort Denonville, the site of the present Fort Niagara, in 1688. It is more than a painstaking study of historical conditions. The canvas shows us the scene through the magic of an exalted imagination. The artist—and the donor—is Mrs. John Clark Glenney, to whose talent and liberality many a Buffalo institution is indebted. This picture, especially designed for mural decoration, is to be placed permanently in the large panel at the head of the grand stair. Another gift for like purpose is the painting in the central lunette of the south gallery. The subject is the "Muse of Niagara." It is the work of Tabor Sears, the gift of Mr. George Cary, the architect of the building, and is of a high order of merit. These mural panels are the beginning of a scheme of decoration which shall fill many of our wall spaces and endow our halls with new attractiveness, by a series of historical and emblematic paintings in the decorative manner. Here is an alluring opportunity for some of our generous friends. Permit me to direct attention to the fact that this great work—for such it truly will become—was begun by a woman; it was a woman, too—Mrs. Alfred G. Hauenstein—who, on June 7, 1901, made the first public address that was given in this building. It was an address before the Western Federation of Women's Clubs, on "The Lessons of the Exposition." Thus, both in art and in eloquence, we have had an auspicious inaugural.

Many opportunities are presented here for noble memorials. The central hall in the basement, as well as the Grand Hall on this floor, calls for statues. Here is a suitable place for a statue of DeWitt Clinton, of whom the Society possesses portraits, autograph letters, and minor memorials. Here, too, it is becoming to place, and that soon, a worthy statue or bust of William McKinley. It was in this building on September 5, 1901, that President McKinley was the guest of the New York State Commissioners for the Pan-American Exposition. It was the last public function in which he shared. The next day, in the Temple of Music, was enacted the great tragedy which culminated in his death, September 14th.

A pleasant incident of the year occurred at the Board meeting held on December 4, 1902, the day before Mr. George S. Hazard's ninety-third birthday. His fellow-members of the Board, desiring to express to him the love and esteem in which he is held, by special and unanimous vote made him an honorary member of the Board of Managers for life. Mr. Hazard served as president of the Society in 1890 and in 1892, and for many years has been a member of its governing board.

During the year past our Society has had the inevitable losses due to death. The enumeration of the dead of the year belongs to another report than mine, but I crave a word in memory of my long-

\* Now permanently placed at the head of the grand stair.



time friend, George W. Townsend. I was intimately associated with him, both in this Society and in other affairs, and always found him all that a man should be. For twenty years he shared in the management of this institution; was twice its vice-president and twice its treasurer. He served it with fidelity, with sound judgment and with care. Much of what the Society is and what it bids fair to become, is due to the wise counsels and long-continued devotion of George W. Townsend.

My friends, with the occupancy of this building and the broader opportunities which come with the new foundation, we enter upon an enlarged career of usefulness. We seek to make this edifice highly artistic in its embellishment, a repository for noble memorials, as well as for the minor relics and souvenirs that help preserve our history. We wish to extend our portrait gallery, to increase our library, and especially to carry on the work of historical publication. We want new members, and we want renewed interest on the part of the old members; and we especially want all to share in and enjoy to the utmost whatever the Society has to offer. We are not a close corporation, but a public institution, thoroughly democratic in character and aims.

We are on historic ground. Successors of the race whose meagre records formed the first chapters in our history, we follow them in guarding the Western Gate of the ancient Long House. Other council fires were kindled here before ours. Our part is to keep the blaze bright today. We offer the pipe of peace and extend the hand of friendship. Share our lodge and the pleasantness of it shall be yours.

The annual reports of the treasurer and the secretary were presented. The secretary's report stated that the deed of the building had been delivered to the President, January 2, 1902. The building was opened to the public July 1, 1902, and had since been open daily, 10 a. m. to 5 p. m., Sundays 2 to 5 p. m., the Sunday attendance sometimes exceeding 1500. The growth of the museums and library was noted in detail. The total membership (January, 1903) was stated as 502, of which number 145 were corresponding and honorary.

The Society's losses by death during 1902 were as follows: Life and resident members: March 2d, Bronson Case Rumsey; April 26th, Henry H. Otis; June 14th, Dr. Jared Hyde Tilden; in July, at Saratoga, O. H. Whitford; July 22d, Fred B. Curtiss; October 24th, George W. Townsend; December 30th, Henry G. White. Honorary members: March 20th, Hon. Noah Davis, New York City; October 1st, Admiral J. E. Jouett, U. S. N., Port Royal, S. C. Corresponding members: March 12th, Hon. B. E. Charlton, Hamilton, Ont.; December 4th, Hon. Joseph Williamson, Belfast, Me.

The prescribed business of the meeting being finished, Senator Henry W. Hill stepped forward, and addressing the president, said:

Your associates on the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society take this occasion to express publicly their appreciation of your long and distinguished services as president of this So-



ciety, and of their personal regard for you. At the time of your first election, in January, 1894, there was very little to encourage, and much to discourage one in assuming the duties of president of the Buffalo Historical Society. Its location was not favorable to its growth, or to the maintenance of public interest in its affairs. Its limitations were recognized by all.

After the late Dr. Joseph C. Greene and the late Dr. Frederick H. James had presented their respective collections to this Society, it was apparent to all that there was not sufficient space on the third floor of the Library Building adequately to exhibit its historic properties.

Its archives were not easily accessible to the public. This was due to the fact that it was necessary to climb two long flights of stairs to reach the Historical Society rooms, and when reached, they were found to be in a congested and poorly lighted condition. Consequently the public did not use the Historical Society archives as freely as they otherwise would. As early as 1891, a committee was appointed by the Board of Managers of this Society to increase its membership, and we found that the difficulty of reaching the Society's rooms on the third floor of the Library Building was one of the principal objections advanced by Buffalonians to becoming members. However, this did not deter such well-known Buffalonians as the late Judge James Sheldon, and that ripe classic scholar, James Frazer Gluck, both now deceased, from taking a deep interest in the welfare of this Society. Soon after assuming the executive management of this organization, you made a study of its conditions and needs and presented plans for extending its sphere of usefulness in this community. These met with the approval of such well-known members as Edmund W. Granger, George H. Lewis, Dr. Frederick H. James, Judge James Murdock Smith, Dr. Joseph C. Greene, Cyrus K. Remington and George W. Townsend, all since deceased, but who, as occasion occurred, freely gave of their time and treasure to promote the welfare of the Society. They were its loyal and devoted friends. We should remember their solicitude for its success at times when it needed just such support as they were able to give to it.

After full justice is done to all others, however, we feel that this Society and the city are under lasting obligation to you for what you have accomplished. As early as 1897, after the enactment of chapter 310 of the Laws of 1897, authorizing the Society to build on Park lands, you had prepared for the uses of this Society plans of a building, resembling the Matthew Latlin Memorial, in Lincoln Park, Chicago, which you presented to your associates and to the Board of Park Commissioners of this city. You sought to raise funds for the construction of such a building, which, though far less costly than this building, had many features of excellence for historical purposes. I need not recount the arguments advanced by those who favored, and by those who then opposed the movement from a downtown site to one on Park lands. Your familiarity with the location of such buildings in the parks of other cities of this and other countries greatly aided us in reaching a wise conclusion in that matter. People now recognize the propriety of the location of this Historical Society building. Had it not been possible to locate on park lands, it were not possible to have obtained State funds toward its construction.



You will recall the conference of Judge James M. Smith, Dr. J. C. Greene, Hon. D. F. Day, Cyrus K. Remington, Dr. Albert H. Briggs, Frank H. Severance, yourself and myself, in the latter part of September, 1897, at the Delaware Park, to decide upon a site for the Buffalo Historical Society building, and that such conferees favored the mound now occupied by the Albright Gallery of Art. Much discussion ensued. The subsequent location of the Pan-American Exposition, north of Delaware Park, necessitated the abandonment of that site, if the Historical Society were to take advantage of the State Building plan, as proposed at our monthly meeting on June 1, 1899, in a resolution, which I presented on that occasion.

The present site was decided upon at a meeting of the managers of this Society, the Commissioners on the part of the State of New York at the Pan-American Exposition, members of the Park Board and President John G. Milburn and some of the directors of the Pan-American Exposition Company held in December, 1899. The State Commissioners acceded to the arguments advanced for the location of the New York State Building on this site, instead of on the site originally proposed, upon which the Temple of Music was afterwards erected. That made it possible to aggregate the three funds and secure a better building for the Pan-American Exposition and a permanent home for this Society.

I prepared and introduced on January 16, 1900, a bill in the Assembly to accomplish that purpose, which became law. As a member of the Building Committee on the part of this Society, you rendered exceedingly valuable services. Fortunate, indeed, was this Society, at the time, in having one so willing and competent to serve it in that trying capacity. Week in and week out, you labored to accomplish the result which now crowns the work. It must not be forgotten that General Wilson S. Bissell, Hon. Charles W. Goodyear, Mr. G. Barrett Rich, Secretary Frank H. Severance and other members of this Board of Managers also counselled, advised and supplemented your efforts and rendered valuable service in this important matter. The Board of Park Commissioners favored the project and since the Exposition have done much to beautify the grounds surrounding this building.

This Society contributed \$45,000, the City of Buffalo \$25,000, and the State \$100,000, towards the cost of this building. In addition to these sums, the most notable gift towards this building was the solid bronze doors, in its northerly entrance, which you presented to the Society. As works of art, it may be said, that they are not excelled by any in this country. They are embellished by female figures, which represent Ethnology and History, and are emblematic of the work of the Society. The bronze transom above the doors is adorned with two reclining figures, emblematic of Science and Art. These gates will endure long after this marble building has crumbled away. The munificence of this gift is one of the proofs of your loyalty to this Society and the quality of it evinces rare esthetic taste, that adorns and beautifies wherever it exists. These beautiful gates will refine and promote human happiness, for, as Keats says:

*"A thing of beauty is a joy forever."*

The Washington bust of Carrara marble, after the Stuart portraits, the work of the eminent Florentine sculptor, Pugi, recently





presented by you to this Society, is another evidence of your abiding interest in it. It was largely due to your forethought and efforts that the Society secured the Francis Memorial collection, and the bronze statue of Abraham Lincoln, but time does not permit me to enumerate all that you have done for this Society during your nine years service as its president.

During that time the Buffalo Historical Society may be said to have had a new birth. Its period of transition has passed. It has ceased to be a tenant and has become the owner of one of the finest Historical Society buildings in America. This Greek Doric temple and the Albright Ionic Gallery of Art, near at hand, with their rare collections and the replica of the gigantic statue of David by Michael Angelo, through your munificence soon to be placed in this vicinity, and other works of art and stately buildings that are likely to follow, whose "architecture," to adopt the phrase of Schelling, may be likened unto "frozen music," will constitute an acropolis of fine arts in Delaware Park.

As time goes on this Park, which

". . . didst appear so fair  
To fond imagination,"  
Will "rival in the light of day  
Her delicate creation."

Henceforth Buffalo, the city of commerce, with its diversified industries, will have its classic buildings and works of art to awaken "ideals of beauty," which Ruskin has well said, "are among the noblest which can be presented to the human mind invariably exalting and purifying it according to their degree." Conspicuous among these will be the superb building of the Buffalo Historical Society with its stately portico of Doric columns and beautiful gates, housing an historic collection of rare value, already widely and favorably known. This will both elevate and instruct. The *Publications* of this Society will become standard authorities and will cover periods of time not hitherto adequately treated by other historians. The work of the Society will thus become educational and you will see fulfilled the highest ideals of historic research and historic exposition. This is far in advance of the work that was possible to be done nine years ago.

We feel that you have labored zealously to advance the interests of the Society and to extend its sphere of usefulness in this community. You have contributed liberally of your time and treasure to make this a progressive institution. The impress you have left upon it is quite as notable as that of its first president, Millard Fillmore.

In testimony of your faithful services and of the appreciation of your associates on the Board of Managers and of Mr. Edward D. Strickland, who has served in the capacity of assistant secretary during most of your presidency, I am requested to perform the pleasant duty of presenting to you this key of gold, bearing the inscription, "Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society to Andrew Langdon, 1901," to open the massive bronze gates that will forever attest your devotion to the Buffalo His-





torical Society and perpetuate your name in memory as one of its most munificent benefactors.

President Langdon, much moved, made a happy response, saying that he should treasure the key, because of what it expressed, as long as he lived. He received the congratulations of many friends.

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#### MEMORIAL ON THE DEATH OF

#### GEORGE STARR HAZARD.

*Adopted by a silent rising vote of the Board of Managers,  
October 1, 1903.*

In the death of George Starr Hazard, which occurred August 7, 1903, in his 94th year, the Buffalo Historical Society has lost its most aged member, who for over forty years had been devoted to its welfare. But one living member of the Society has a longer membership; that is Mr. Pascal P. Pratt, who was one of the original organizers of the Society in the spring of 1862. Mr. Hazard and the Hon. William P. Letchworth both joined the Society on January 6, 1863. Mr. Hazard was chosen a councilor in 1888; was elected president in 1890; was made a life member, February 4, 1890; was vice-president in 1891; president again in 1892; member of the board of managers continuously since that date, and honorary life member of the Board—the only member ever so designated—since December 4, 1902.

Mr. Hazard's first term as president was made memorable by the receipt of Mrs. Martha M. Huyler's gift of \$10,000 for a statue of Red Jacket; and it was under Mr. Hazard's presidency that that important work was entered upon and assured. In his second term the Society had the good fortune to receive the valuable collection of Holland Land Company papers and maps which are among its choicest possessions. In many other ways the institution was strengthened while Mr. Hazard was at its head. He secured many new members, and was devoted, as for many years before and after, to promoting its welfare.

On January 14, 1890, Mr. Hazard presented to this Society his manuscript history of the One Hundredth, or Board of Trade Regiment, a collection of data bearing on the fortunes of that organization, to the gathering of which he had devoted much time and research. The result amply warranted the effort, for the great volume is a repository of a vast amount of valuable historical material relating to this distinguished Buffalo regiment, much of which would have been lost to posterity but for Mr. Hazard's zeal and forethought.

Mr. Hazard came to Buffalo in 1847, when the town had scarcely outgrown its village conditions. For many years he was active in business affairs, and as president of the Board of Trade shared prominently in making more substantial Buffalo's commercial standing.



His patriotism conspicuously showed itself in his work of organizing and equipping the One Hundredth New York Volunteers. His public spirit never flagged, and even in his old age his counsels—on the Canal Commission of 1899—were helpful to his city, his State and the Nation. Many a local institution knew him as a practical friend.

In common with the rest of the community, this Society had long cherished Mr. Hazard with that respect and affection which are the natural tribute to ripe experience and high character. He was spared to his family and friends through an exceptionally long life and serene old age; and we, his late associates, who offer to his family our assurances of sympathy, will ever cherish the memory of his long devotion to the welfare of this Society, the pleasant memory of his kindness, his good cheer, and sincerity.

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### MEMORIAL ON THE DEATH OF HONORABLE WILSON SHANNON BISSELL.

*Adopted by the Board of Managers, October 8, 1903.*

The Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society has learned with deep sorrow of the death, October 6th, of its most distinguished member, the Honorable Wilson S. Bissell.

Mr. Bissell was a citizen of Buffalo for nearly his whole life. For many years he was a member of this Society, devoted to its interests, and the preservation of the records of the community in which he lived. He was for a long time a member of this Board, and as such rendered the Society an invaluable and special service which resulted in the erection of its beautiful building in Delaware Park.

He was a man of the highest integrity, of great ability, the keenest sense of public duty, the closest and most enduring friendship, and the tenderest and most sympathetic affection.

We sincerely mourn what seems to us his untimely taking off.

We hereby adopt this memorial as a part of the permanent records of this Society.

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### JAMES O. PUTNAM MEMORIAL EVENING.

A meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society was held on the evening of November 6, 1903, to pay tribute to the memory of the Hon. James O. Putnam, who died April 24, 1903. President Langdon presided, and the attendance was large. The programme included papers by Mr. J. N. Larned and Mr. L. G. Sellstedt, with a brief address by Mr. William E. Foster, in which he dwelt on the scholarly side of Mr. Putnam's character, and related numerous anecdotes, illustrating Mr. Putnam's habits and tastes in his last years. The papers of Mr. Larned and Mr. Sellstedt follow.



## MR. LARNED'S TRIBUTE.

Forty-seven years ago, in the old St. James Hall, which stood at the corner of Eagle and Washington streets, I listened to a speech, the very tones of which are distinct in my memory to this day. The speaker was James O. Putnam; the occasion was a public meeting, called to express the indignation in this community excited by the dastardly assault made on Senator Sumner by Preston Brooks. There were other speakers, but I remember none of them; there were other strong words spoken, but they left no mark upon me. The one speech stamped an impression on my mind that was deeper and more lasting than any other that belongs to that period of my life. I think it realized oratory to me as I had not realized it before, and thrilled me as eloquent speech has thrilled me very seldom in my experience since. As I think of it now, the scene rises like a picture before me: the crowded, silent audience; the slender figure on the stage, all aquiver with the emotion of that impassioned hour; the mobile, expressive face, and the voice that came throbbing to my ears, with such words as these:

Sir, what principle is contended for by the justifiers of this outrage? Simply this, that Northern representatives, upon questions connected with slavery, must speak what is agreeable to certain Southern ears. . . . A South Carolina *imprimatur* must be found on the cover of every Congressional speech, or the stiletto and the bludgeon will punish the temerity of free men. By this permission we may live. Under the legs of this Carolina Colossus we may peep about to find ourselves dishonorable graves. If this is to be the price of union, it is too great. It cannot be paid. There is not forbearance enough, there is not fraternal charity enough, and there never ought to be, in the moral exchequer of the North, to pay any such price. . . . The committee of investigation report that the Senate has no power in the premises! . . . The skulking assassin may burrow under the Speaker's chair until the opportunity arrives to rush upon his defenseless victim. He may shed his heart's blood before their senatorial eyes—and that, too, for words spoken in debate—and the Senate is impotent. If this be so, the Alpine passes in the Middle Ages and the Huns-low Heath of the seventeenth century were as secure as the Senate Chamber of the United States.

In memory, I can listen now to the trumpeting of that last sentence in Mr. Putnam's vibrating voice, as I listened to it almost half a century ago, and it stirs me to my finger tips, as it stirred me then.

Almost equally marked in my memory is the second of the early great speeches of Mr. Putnam on notable public occasions in Buffalo. It was made in May, 1858, at a union mass meeting, of Americans and Republicans, held to protest against the attempt in Washington to fasten the Lecompton Constitution upon Kansas, as the fundamental law of a new State. If I could repeat, as his voice gave them, the opening words of that address, you would understand the wonderful effect with which they prepared the feeling of his audience for what he had to say: "On the gates of Buzsane was inscribed, on the first, 'Be bold,' on the second, 'Be bold, be bold, evermore be bold,' and on the third gate, 'Be not too bold.'" The Democratic party has adopted all these maxims save the last."

Those two speeches, of 1856 and 1858, were the first, I think, that showed the full powers of Mr. Putnam as an orator to audiences in his own city. He had his fame as a youthful speaker in many political campaigns, and had won even national distinction already in the Senate of the State of New York; but I believe I am not mistaken





in saying that the speech on the Sumner outrage revealed him wholly to this city for the first time, and gave him an eminence in it which had not been recognized before.

Mr. Putnam was not a native of Buffalo; his birthplace and early home were Attica, where he was born on the 4th of July, 1818. His father, Harvey Putnam, migrating from the East, a young man, newly married, had taken residence in Attica the previous year, establishing himself in the practice of the law. As the son grew to manhood he saw his father rise to eminence among the lawyers of Western New York, and became conscious that he was heir to a highly honored name. It was an inheritance that he valued more than wealth. In the State Senate once, and three times in Congress, Harvey Putnam served the public, and his son, writing of him in a memorial paper that was prepared for this Society in 1868, could say with just pride: "The elements of his personal strength in the public confidence were character and adequacy. To these, all the public trusts he held were spontaneous tributes."

In 1838 Mr. Putnam entered Yale with high ambitions and hopes. Letters written by him at that time, which have been preserved, are all aglow with the ardent spirit of the young student, thirsting for pure knowledge, feasting on great thoughts, living already and joying in the life of the mind. But the doom of ill-health, destined to handicap him to the end of his days, fell upon him then and drove him from his studies at the end of his junior year. He was never able to return to them; but Yale, in later years, recognized him as a son who did honor to her, named him in the list of her graduates, and gave him his degree.

After some months spent in travel and residence at the South, in 1839, Mr. Putnam began the study of law with his father and was admitted to the bar in 1842. In that year he married and took up his residence in this city, entering into partnership with the late George R. Babcock, with whom he continued in practice for about two years; but the exacting duties of a laborious profession were beyond his strength, and once more his ambitions were put grievously in check by the inadequacy of his bodily health. In 1844 he became connected officially with the Attica & Buffalo and the Buffalo & Rochester railway companies, first as secretary and treasurer, and later as attorney and counsellor, and he held those positions until the companies in question were merged in that of the New York Central. Then he received from President Fillmore the appointment of Postmaster at Buffalo, and held the office until the close of Mr. Fillmore's term.

From his youth Mr. Putnam had been interested warmly in politics, and had attached himself with ardor to the party of the Whigs. While scarcely more than a boy he had been a favorite campaign speaker, and, in that fermenting period of our national history to which his early manhood belonged, he seemed to be at the threshold of a career that would carry him high and far in public life. With more stability of health, it is not to be doubted that he would have run such a career. As it was, he entered it, with remarkable promise, in 1853, when elected by his party to the Senate of the State. In that single term he won a reputation as wide as the nation, by the fame of a measure that drew attention everywhere, and the power of a speech that was read from end to end of the land. The measure in



question, introduced by Mr. Putnam and advocated in an argument of masterly eloquence and force, was one requiring church property to be vested in trustees. It was consequent upon an issue that had arisen between some of the Roman Catholic congregations in this country and their bishops, on a ruling by the latter that every church estate should be made the property of the bishop of the diocese,—its title vested in him. Among the resisting congregations, that of St. Louis Church in Buffalo took a foremost place, by the firmness with which it asserted and maintained its rights. The controversy excited a deep interest in every part of the country, and nowhere more than here. Mr. Putnam took up the cause of his constituents in the St. Louis Church and championed it with characteristic vigor and zeal. He saw a sacred principle of liberty at stake, and he fought a battle for it which showed once, and once only, what his prowess in the contests of the forum might be. In the splendid speech that bore down all resistance to his bill he sketched his view of the issue to be settled by it in a few pregnant words. "I cannot look as a legislator," he said, "nor would I have the State look, with indifference on a controversy like this. On the one side is priesthood, panoplied with all its power over the pockets and consciences of its people, armed with the terrible enginery of the Vatican, seeking, in open defiance of the policy and laws of the State, to wrest every inch of sacred ground from the control of the laity,—property secured by their sweat and sacrifices,—and to vest it in the solitary hands of a single bishop, that he may close the door of the sanctuary, put out the fires upon its altar, and scourge by his disciplinary lash, from its sacraments, ordinances and worship, every communicant who dares think a thought independent of his spiritual master. On the other hand, we see a band of men who have lived long enough in their adopted country to have the gristle of their liberal opinions hardened into bone; men devoted to the church of their fathers, but who love the State to which they have sworn allegiance and who respect its institutions; we see them resisting with a heroism which would honor the age of heroes, unitedly, unwaveringly, in defiance of bulls of excommunication from bishop, legate and the Pope, every attempt to override our laws."

Here is eloquence, of fine texture in the warp and the woof of ideas and words; but more than eloquence appears in the graver passages of the speech, such as that in which the attitude and the relations of the American Republic to the Roman Church are pronounced. "Being," he explains, "a government of dissent, and popular in all its theory, it cannot be moulded to meet more absolute systems of rule. It admits the transplantation to its soil of every exotic, spiritual or political, that can find it genial to its nature. Whether they are so, and can bear the transplantation, or whether they languish and die, is of no interest to the Genius of American Democracy. Its office is spent when it has taken care that the State suffer no detriment, and that there spring up in its midst no hostile element of power."

Writing of this speech more than twenty years ago, when a volume of Mr. Putnam's addresses was published, I said, and I think correctly, that the effect of it, "not alone in the State of New York, but from one end of the country to the other, was prodigious. It was



published everywhere, read everywhere, and its author woke, like Byron, to find himself famous. The Church Property Bill became law irresistibly, and the fact that it was repealed some years afterwards takes nothing from the force and effect of the speech by which it was carried at the time.

In all of the speeches of Mr. Putnam that touch in any way upon questions of public policy, movements of public opinion, or incidents of national history, the current of his thought has always started from the deep underlying principles of free government and the great primal facts which shaped this federative nationality of ours. Whether speaking as a partisan upon his party platform, or standing aside from party, on historic anniversary occasions, he has always unveiled the light of past experience to turn it upon present affairs, and to project its forecasting rays upon things consequent and future. In that meaner sense of the word which prevails in our use of it now, Mr. Putnam was never a "politician"; but throughout his life he was a political student, and there are few who study politics with equal subtlety and depth. For this reason there was a philosophy in his political speeches that gave them lasting value. Those found in the published volume of his addresses and miscellaneous writings, such as the speech made in the State Senate, in 1854, against the repealing of the Missouri Compromise by the Kansas-Nebraska Act; the speech made in this city on the Lecompton Constitution; a speech at Cooper Institute, New York, on the principles of the Republican party; an address at Paris, in 1866, on Washington's birthday; an oration, here in Buffalo, on the Fourth of July, 1870;—all have their permanent value and can be read as instructively today as when they were first made public. They are none of them thoughts of the moment on questions and excitements of the hour; they are all political studies, in which general convictions, mature and well determined, have been brought out and applied to the particular circumstances of the time.

To these qualities of depth and strength in the thought of his discourses Mr. Putnam added the special gifts of the orator, in a singular degree. He was born an orator, in the higher sense of that term, which implies something more than a man of fluent and stirring speech. It implies the gift of a sympathetic understanding of the hearts of men; the gift of an imagination that is winged and plumed for the upper ether; the gift of a temperament which kindles to glowing heat in fervent times, and flashes out its warmth on colder souls. With all these gifts Mr. Putnam was born. Naturally, for half a century, he was the one man among us whose voice the people of this city desired most and expected to hear, when deep feelings were to be expressed or matters of grave moment to be discussed. He was called upon continually for that service of expression on behalf of his fellow-citizens, when new institutions were hopefully undertaken or were happily opened to use; when important anniversaries were commemorated; when hospitable words were to be spoken to public guests; when a sorrowing tribute was to be paid to the city's nobler dead. How much of his eloquence was spent for us, willingly and beautifully, on occasions like those, and what distinction it has given to the memory of them all!

Twice, in the years of Mr. Putnam's prime, there were long



breaks in our enjoyment of the pleasure and the inspiration which his presence among us added to our lives. From 1861 to 1867 he was in public service as the U. S. Consul at Havre, under an appointment from President Lincoln; and in 1880 he was sent abroad again, by President Hayes, to represent our Government at the Belgian Court. In both instances, the best influences that work in American public affairs were expressed in his selection; for he was not, as I said before, a politician, in any common sense of the term. To describe him most truly in his political character I would say that he was of the type of the faithful citizen, whose political franchises represent political duty to his mind, and who obeys the command of that duty when he interests himself in public questions and party strifes. He had acted with the Whig party until its dissolution, and after that event he had been carried by his old associations, for a short time, into the movement which formed the American party; but his convictions and his feelings were alike anti-slavery, and he soon took an influential part in bringing the bulk of the "Americans" into union with the new party of the Republicans. In this part of the country that union was accomplished at the great meeting, in May, 1858, of which I have spoken already. In 1860, he was named on the Republican ticket as one of the two presidential electors-at-large, and was active in the campaign.

Then followed his official residence for six years at Havre, which he could not enjoy as he might otherwise have done, because it took him from the country and kept him among strangers through all the heartache of the Civil War. At that distance and with alien surroundings it was far harder than here at home to bear the dreadful anxieties of the time. Among our representatives abroad he took the prominence that was natural to his eminent gifts, writing the address of American citizens in France on the death of President Lincoln, and being the chosen orator of a celebration of Washington's birthday, at Paris, in the year after the close of the war.

While residing as the American Minister at Brussels he was appointed by his Government to represent it at the International Industrial Property Congress, held at Paris in 1881, to adjust rules and agreements concerning patents, trade-marks, and the like. He experienced unusual pleasure in this episode of his public life.

I have sketched but very briefly the official services which Mr. Putnam performed. They would bear dwelling upon at more length; for the record of his public life is not only a most honorable one, but it is astonishingly full, when we think of it as the record of one who carried a heavy burden of infirmities through all his life. There are not many with that handicap who reach honors as high; not many who achieve as much; not many who put their fellows so much in their debt. For Mr. Putnam, not only in the offices he held, but always, in the private employments of his thought and his time, was continually making some or all of us debtors to him, for good service of some sort, rendered in some manner to others than himself. There was little of his life or labor spent on objects of personal gain. When he spoke, it was to advance a cause; when he wrote, it was to stir a thought or move a feeling in the public mind, or to brighten the memory of some good citizen who had passed from life; when he busied himself, it was commonly in the affairs of his church, or





of some public institution that invoked his care. He was rarely without something to do, and what he did was more rarely for himself. And this was so, nearly to the last days of his long life. Almost to the last he resisted and overcame the infirmities of health, when calls for service came to him, because he could not learn to refuse himself, even when age and weakness required that he should. The great void made in this community by the ending of such a life is one that we shall seldom have the pain of knowing.

Thus far, in what I have said of Mr. Putnam, I have looked only at the public side of his life. It presents him in his most important character, perhaps, but not in the character that endears him in our memory most. In the public arena he was impressive, inspiring, magnificent, and he made a conquest of the homage of our minds; in the private circle he captivated hearts and minds together, in one happy surrender to his infinite charm. What other personality have we known that could radiate in all companies so instant an atmosphere of social warmth? What other companion have we found among our neighbors whose influence was so expansive and so quickening as his? Who else could so brighten the talk of others by magnetic qualities in his own? Who else has seemed so typically the social man,—organized in all his being for human environments, for fellowships and friendships, for the intimate commerce of feeling and thought, for sympathies, for affections, for all the tender and beautiful ties that are woven together in the finer social life of mankind? In my memory of Mr. Putnam he is figured preëminently in that type,—the type of the social man. I think he illustrated it to us as no one else has done. His genius found expression in it, more, even, than in his oratory, and all his fine gifts were disclosed in it most finely. He found the food of his spirit in friendships and comradeship, and he languished without them. When alone, he was easily overcome by depressions incident to the infirmities of his bodily health; but the lift was instantaneous if he came into any company of congenial friends, and he rose with a strength of spirit that bore up his companions with himself.

These were marvelous and rare powers. The man who possessed them was a precious gift to the city in which he lived; his death takes a happy uplifting influence from it which can never be quite made good; for no other man can ever be to Buffalo, in public service, in social life, in private fellowship, all that James O. Putnam has been.

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#### MR. SELLSTEDT'S OFFERING.

I need not say that I am proud to add my mite to this occasion. The privilege is, indeed, precious to me, and I esteem it a great honor.

We are here tonight to hallow the memory of one of our noblest citizens. His learning, eloquence, patriotism, and other civic virtues have been the theme of the able and discriminating address to which we have had the pleasure of listening, and I feel sure that could his spirit be cognizant of our actions he would be pleased that the friend



who he more than once told me he regarded as Buffalo's first living citizen had been chosen "speaker of his living actions."

My own meagre and imperfect tribute must needs be purely personal. It is the overflow of a heart full of love which I have reason to believe was to some degree mutual. I often wondered what in me he found to honor with his friendship. Art it certainly was not; perhaps for that he cared too little; it may have been our common devotion to the genius of Shakespeare; or it may have been that mysterious and subtle something which an old and very intelligent Shaker I used to know, called my soul-atmosphere.

Although I long had known Mr. Putnam as an able and highly-respected member of the bar, a trusted officer of Government, a cultivated gentleman, and generally distinguished citizen, it was not till my admission to the Shakespeare Club of which he was a star member, that we became acquainted. But from that time, some thirty years ago, our friendship grew apace, until it ripened into an intimacy which only Death could sever. But though the memory of our mutual relations is dear to me, I claim no preference in Mr. Putnam's choice of friends, for I am well aware that he had older and more valuable friends to whom he was closely bound, of some of whom it will be my pleasure to speak later. Besides his social nature, high ethical sense, fine tact, and, more than all, generous appreciation of all that was good in others made him the idol of refined society, and must have engendered many strong bonds of friendship of which I could have no knowledge. But while he was a favorite, while few social functions among his friends were deemed complete without his presence, I have reason to believe that his circle of intimates was choice rather than extensive.

Although deep religious sentiment, seriousness, love of truth, hatred of hypocrisy and shams were the foundation of his moral character there was nothing of bigot in its make-up. Tolerant of the opinion of others, he was ever ready to admit and acknowledge the good in all. His natural sweetness of temper and buoyancy of spirits were ever ready to bring life and animation into the company unless oppressed with that physical suffering to which he seems to have been a frequent victim; but even then the stimulus of a witty allusion or a suggestion from a favorite author would cause them to expand into the natural florescence of their abundant elasticity.

I recall one pleasant instance of his never-failing, ready wit: A number of society people had been invited to a house-warming at the formal opening of the Falconwood Club, Mr. Putnam being one of the guests. On his way down by the steamer he lost his hat. When later we were assembled round the festal board he was called on for a speech; he began to make excuses, alleging total lack of preparation, unexpectedness, and so forth, to which the irrepressible Joseph Warren jokingly objected, declaring that this could not be true since he himself had written the speech for him and that he must have it in his pocket. Quick as thought Mr. Putnam exclaimed: "Why, I lost it; it was in my hat when it blew off." He then went on to address us, and those acquainted with his ready eloquence need not be told that his witty and entertaining speech in which he did not spare his friend Warren was greatly enjoyed by that hilarious company.

While always entertaining it was, perhaps, in our Shakespeare



Club that our friend displayed one of his brightest sides. Ah, there be few left of the choice spirits which composed that harmony of friends. If I mention only those no longer living the list will be all too long: Putnam, Sprague, Rogers, Gray, Kent, Frothingham, Hazard, Babcock, Ranney, Mrs. Rogers, Mrs. Putnam, Mrs. Hazard, Mrs. Babcock, and Miss Wilkeson.

Mr. Putnam's familiarity with Shakespeare included nearly all of his dramatic works, and his quotations were always letter-perfect. In the Shakespeare Club, though no beauty of the poet was missed or marred by his interpretation or reading, he was par excellence our Lear: the appreciating vigor with which he read that part was little short, if any, of Forrest in his best days. Unlike his friend Rogers, whose sense of humor could seldom be suppressed, he took Shakespeare seriously, loving him most in his sublime parts, or those which indicated the profundity of his insight into human nature.

In later years he was fond of reciting Ulysses' speech to Achilles, in "Troilus and Cressida." Perhaps he fancied in it an adaptation to his own life, as I confess it fits mine, and may have meaning to others of advanced years with unfulfilled ambitions and lofty aims. I quote the passage because he loved it so:

Time hath, my lord, a wallet at his back,  
Wherein he puts alms for oblivion,  
A great-siz'd monster of ingratitude.  
Those scraps are good deeds past, which are devour'd  
As fast as they are made, forgot as soon  
As done. Perseverance, dear my lord,  
Keeps honour bright; to have done is to hang  
Quite out of fashion, like a rusty mail  
In monumental mockery. Take the instant way;  
For honour travels in a strait so narrow,  
Where one but goes abreast: Keep then the path,  
For emulation hath a thousand sons  
That one by one pursue. If you give way,  
Or hedge aside from the direct forthright,  
Like to an enter'd tide, they all rush by  
And leave you hindmost;  
Or, like a gallant horse fallen in first rank,  
Lie there for pavement to the abject rear,  
O'errun and trampled on. Then what they do in present,  
Though less than yours in past, must o'er-top yours;  
For time is like a fashionable host  
That slightly shakes his parting guest by the hand,  
And with his arms outstretch'd, as he would fly,  
Grasps in the corner: welcome ever smiles,  
And farewell goes out sighing. O, let not virtue seek  
Remuneration for the thing it was;  
For beauty, wit,  
High birth, vigour of bone, desert in service,  
Love, friendship, charity, are subjects all  
To envious and calumniating time.  
One touch of nature makes the whole world kin,—  
That all with one consent praise new-born gawds,  
Though they are made and moulded of things past,  
And give to dust that is a little gilt  
More laud than gilt o'er-dusted.

Among the friends of Mr. Putnam with whom I was personally acquainted were Messrs. Fillmore, Haven, Hall, Sprague and Sherman Rogers. I will not trust myself to speak of the ladies. The apparent physical delicacy of his slender figure often gave his friends solicitude. One instance I recall. I think it was at Mr. E. C. Sprague's house that some of these gentlemen met for a farewell



gathering on the eve of his departure for Havre de Grace, where he had been appointed consul, that one of his friends (? Haven) remarked after he was gone: "Dear Putnam; we shall probably never see him again." Yet the irony of fate willed that he should see them all in their graves.

He must have had a very marked affection for Mr. Haven; at least he cherished his memory greatly, and I am sure from the talks we had in my studio that he had the highest respect for his character and talents. I had an unfinished portrait of Mr. Haven in my room which he admired very much, as it was a very good likeness, though painted from the corpse. This he requested me to let him have to keep in his study while he lived. As it is no longer wanted for that purpose I shall be pleased to have it go to this Society.

As one by one of his old friends disappeared into that bourn whence there is no returning, he naturally clung closer to those that remained. The unexpected death of his friend Rogers affected him greatly. "Sellstedt," said he one day, "if you die before me I shall never forgive you." His friendship for Mr. Rogers was almost pathetic, and, indeed, I think it was about evenly returned. After the death of his wife and the subsequent scattering of his family Mr. Rogers found his home desolate and often fell back on his few remaining intimates to render the evenings at his home less void. He often invited some of them to dine and spend the evening with him. Mr. Putnam and Mr. Johnston were frequent guests and even I was sometimes of the symposia. The last of these memorable occasions was the Monday of the week he left for California never to see his friends in Buffalo again. It was a cold winter evening when he sent his carriage for Mr. Putnam and myself to come and dine with him. Mr. Johnston was there, and a more genial set of old fellows would be hard to imagine. In the whist, which little deserved its name, that followed the excellent, but unpretending, repast, I think Mr. Putnam was the boyiest boy in the party, and even our host for the nonce forgot his grief, joining his partner in joyous boasting over their easily won victory. When we left in Mr. Rogers' carriage he insisted on accompanying us to our respective homes, and this was the last time I ever saw him.

I have alluded to Mr. Putnam's lack of interest in painting. This I think rose in part from defective vision in his latest years; perhaps also his absorption in business and kindred studies had prevented his attention being called to it. I remember that while I was his guest in Brussels, where he had invited me to visit him when I was staying in Paris with my family, I proposed a visit to the art galleries. He had not been there before, and was much interested, regretting that he had neglected to visit them. Especially was he interested in the Wirtz collection, that melange of artistic vagaries so well calculated to cast their fearful weird over the sensitive beholder.

But though his interest in pictorial art was limited, his love of poetry and the higher forms of literature was boundless. No touch of the poet's fancy was too fine for his exquisite sense, no shade too elusive to escape his sympathetic nature. As he loved Shakespeare, so he revelled in Spenser and Shelley, and no beauty of diction escaped his critical acumen.

At all times a delightful companion, he always brought out the





best that was in me. May not this fine trait be one of the secrets of the charming conversational powers of which he was a past master?

Mr. Putnam's last visit to my studio was on the afternoon before the Angel of Death touched him with his wing. He seemed tired and feeble, but after a slight restorative his spirits rose to their usual tone, and I had no reason to fear that I should never again hear the sound of his familiar and ever-welcome footfalls approaching my studio door.

Though I think Mr. Putnam's orthodoxy would have satisfied even John Knox himself, at least in essentials, his broad mind could not be bounded within the ironclad precincts that inclose error as well as truth. He was a liberal thinker, willing to discuss the difficulties which science has put in the way of that simplicity of faith which all regret the loss of, and which will ever trouble the intelligent believer. Immortality seemed to fill him with dread, the idea of living forever was associated with a never-ceasing activity, and what he most desired was rest. These were the promptings of a feeble frame which confined a glorious spirit. None knows anything of a future life beyond what Christ has told us; but though he has left us the assurance that in his Father's house are many mansions we are left in ignorance of their nature. Of one thing we may be reasonably sure: the influence of a good life will be felt till time shall be no more.

Whatever may be the nature of the life he now in glory lives, in the hearts of his friends his memory is immortal.

REQUIESCAT IN PACE.



## APPENDIX C.

# MEMBERSHIP OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(List revised to November, 1903.)

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### PATRONS.

No living Patron, the late Hon. James M. Smith having been the only member so designated. This class was established for those who contribute \$2500 or upwards to the Society.

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### HONORARY MEMBERS.

(Honorary membership is bestowed upon non-residents of Buffalo, in recognition of special services. Purely complimentary, yielding no revenue.)

Astor, Hon. William W. . . . .	Cliveden, Taplow, Eng.
Cleveland, Hon. Grover . . . . .	Princeton, N. J.
Cornell, Hon. Alonzo B. . . . .	Ithaca, N. Y.
Dandy, Gen. George B. . . . .	Omaha, Nebraska.
Hawley, Hon. Joseph R. . . . .	Hartford, Conn.
Hill, Hon. David B. . . . .	Albany, N. Y.
Howard, Gen. Oliver Otis . . . . .	Burlington, Vt.
Wilson, Gen. J. Grant . . . . .	New York City.

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### LIFE MEMBERS.

(Dues, \$100. No further payments or assessments of any kind. All the Society Publications and privileges free to life members.)

Adam, Robert B.	Brady, Gilbert
Albright, John J.	Briggs, Horace
Alexander, Hon. DeA. S.	Burrows, George E.
Alward, Mrs. Emily B.	Cady, F. L. A.
Amos, Jacob	Cary, George
Avery, Trueman G.	Clarke, Sarah Hazard
Bennett, Lewis J.	Clement, Stephen M.
Bishop, Hon. Charles F.	Collins, Guy
Bleistein, George	Cornwell, William C.
Blocher, John	Cottier, William H.
Bolin, Gaius C.	Crawford, William J.
Box, Henry C.	Day, Robert W.



Dudley, Joseph P.	Machwirth, Emil
Dunbar, George H.	Maltby, George W.
Eames, Edward W.	Marshall, Charles J.
Eastman, Mrs. Frank F.	Mathews, George B.
Eisele, Edward J.	Meech, Henry L.
Elias, Abraham J.	Michael, Isadore
Farnham, Ammi M.	Miller, Charles W.
Farwell, Henry D.	Mills, William I.
Field, Gen. George S.	Morse, David R.
Forman, George V.	Mott, John T.
Franchot, N. V. V.	Newhall, Daniel E.
Fullerton, Henry F., M. D.	Newman, John B.
Gavin, Joseph E.	Newman, William H. H.
Gerrans, Henry M.	Norton, N. W.
Glenny, Mrs. John C.	O'Day, Daniel
Gowans, John	Olmsted, William D.
Graves, Gen. John C.	Ough, Richard A.
Greiner, Fred	Patton, L. H.
Haines, Alfred	Paul, Peter
Hamersley, Andrew S.	Penfold, Mrs. Frank C.
Hamlin, Cicero J.	Peterson, Jesse
Harvey, Leon F., M. D.	Pratt, Pascal P.
Hawley, Edward S.	Reed, Horace
Hawley, Mary E.	Rumsey, Dexter P.
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